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NEWSPAPER

Your Money Used to Help Elect Liberals

When President Johnson praised passage of the $3.2-billion public works bill last week, politicos knew the reason for his jubilation: The public works pork barrel, along with other federal spending schemes, is a prime piece of Administration artillery to be used for the purpose of re-electing 71 freshman Democrats in 1966.

Democrats in the cloakroom are so cynical they are privately referring to it as LBJ's slush fund.

Even before the bill was passed, high-ranking Administration officials were holding a series of secret meetings with freshman Democrats to speed the flow of public works dollars into their home districts. Sanitation, anti-poverty and airport projects have already been rushed into marginal Democratic areas.

LBJ considers the re-election of freshman Democrats one of the primary goals of his Administration; these liberal lawmakers are providing the President with the majority he needs in the House to saddle America with his spend-spend "Great Society."

Without the President's coattails to catch hold of next year and with the traditional trend against the party in power, a sizable number of these freshman legislators would normally be picked off by Republicans.

The LBJ slush fund, taken from the American taxpayer, will be put to work to offset these obstacles to re-election.

The central question put to these neophyte lawmakers is: "What can we do that will help you back home?" The legislators, writes New York *Times* reporter David Broder, have learned to come prepared with a "shopping list" of specific projects and grants.

The meetings, held at the Democratic National Committee headquarters here in Washington, have been attended by Jake Jacobsen, a Texas lawyer who is a special assistant to the President for congressional relations. Also present at the hand-out sessions have been assistants to Vice President Hubert Humphrey and representatives from the Departments of Agriculture; Interior; Labor; Health, Education and Welfare; the Housing and Home Finance Agency; the Small Business Administration; the Federal Aviation Agency, and the Office of Economic Opportunity, which administers the anti-poverty program.

Agency officials were chosen, say informants, so the congressmen would have "somebody right at the top who can get action for them on requests."

Democratic strategists, however, aren't relying solely on the slush fund technique to re-elect freshmen.

The Democratic National Committee has hired a half-dozen publicists to write speeches and press releases for the freshmen. It has also initiated a radio service that feeds tape-recorded comments from the congressmen to stations in their districts.

The committee operates a similar service for telegraphing statements directly into the newsrooms of newspapers in the home districts, and it has made its electronic equipment available for processing the mailing of newsletters to constituents.

In order to re-elect the new liberal Democrats, the committee is also coordinating more closely than ever before a coalition of special interest groups. This "coalition" includes not only traditional open supporters of the Democratic party, such as the AFL-CIO and the National Farmers Union, but organizations which in the past have been ostensibly non-partisan. Among these "non-partisan" outfits: the National Association of Rural Electric Co-operatives, the National Education Association, the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., the National Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities and the National Council of Senior Citizens.

President Johnson signs the $3.2-billion public works bill.

Field men from the Democratic National Committee have gone into the districts to set up speaking invitations for the representatives with these groups, to arrange for fees to cover lawmakers' trips and also to give the groups advice on how to raise funds for liberal candidates.

Politicos agree, however, that a Democratic freshman's best friend is the federal treasury which he can dip into for special projects back home.

In order to combat Democrats who are taking advantage of this "free federal money," some Republican strategists are urging voters to wage a vigorous campaign through local communications media against congressmen who are bringing these politically-oriented federal boondoggles into their districts. Exposure of the boondoggles may rally non-partisans as well as partisans against such projects. In the past, for example, voters have been most successful in preventing urban renewal projects from coming into their home towns (see page 5 for reports on recent urban renewal defeats).

Fulbright's Strange Views On Dominican Republic Reds

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'WHAT HAPPENED TO GOLDWATER?'

You can have the inside story in Stephen Shadegg's red-hot new book.

See page 16.

Two Rollcall Votes:

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L.A. Riots Could Well Mean Election Woe for Pat Brown

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Some Speculation on Algeria

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Arts and Humanities Act Creates Bureaucratic Chaos

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

There is now languishing in the House Rules Committee, awaiting one good shove to get it on stage, a bill intended to Do Good in a most regrettable way. This is H.R. 9460, sponsored chiefly by Congressman Frank Thompson Jr., of New Jersey. It is known as the "National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965."

That is a clumsy title, but everything about this bill is clumsy. The measure plunges into the cultural world with all the grace of Two-ton Tony Galento doing a minuet. It would create a bureaucratic structure as tangled as the plots of Tennessee Williams, and lay the heavy hand of federal favor on areas better left alone.

The bill must be read to be believed. First off, it would create a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities (NFAH), which would have immediately under it a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities (FCAH). The NFAH and the FCAH would coordinate the activities of a National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and a National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). The NEA would be assisted by a National Council on the Arts (NCA) and the NEH would similarly be assisted by a National Council on the Humanities (NCH).

None of these agencies should be confused with the old National Council on the Arts, which was created under the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964. That was last year's culture. And it never was appointed anyhow.

The principal function of NFAH is not exactly clear, but FCAH would help it. In the field of the arts, both FCAH and NCA would advise the chairman of NEA. In the same fashion, both FCAH and NCH would advise the chairman of NEH.

The NCA would have 26 members. The NCH would have 26 members, too.

Rep. Frank Thompson (D.-N. J.) is the bill's chief sponsor.

FCAH would have only nine. Along with dispensing advice, the FCAH also would coordinate, "so far as is practicable," the policies and operations of NEA and NEH, and it would promote coordination between the programs and activities of NFAH and other federal agencies. In the interests of clarity, it would perhaps be as well if these other federal agencies were left out of this simplified account.

Now, getting back to the arts: After he has received the advice of FCAH and NCA, the chairman of the NEA would approve grants-in-aid to persons engaged in, but not limited to, music, dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, tape and sound recording, and the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution and exhibition of such major art forms.

Not just any old hill-billy singer could qualify. To obtain a federal grant, a production would have to meet federal standards of "substantial artistic and cultural significance." Performers would have to be paid at rates not less than the prevailing minimum compensation as determined by the secretary of labor to be the prevailing minimum compensation for persons employed in similar activities.

And any laborers or mechanics, it goes without saying, who might be engaged backstage, would have to be paid according to the provisions of 40 U.S.C. 276a-5, not to mention Reorganization Plan Number 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; U.S.C. 133z-15 and 40 U.S.C. 276c).

All chairmen shall have rule-making powers, and 14 shall constitute a quorum. The publication of scholarly works may be undertaken without regard to the provisions of section 87 of the Act of Jan. 12, 1895 (28 Stat. 622). Neither is it necessary to observe section 11 of the Act of March 1, 1919 (40 Stat. 1270). All members of NCA and NCH shall be distinguished, but none shall be more distinguished than others. They shall receive travel expenses as provided under section 8 of PL 88-579. For the next three fiscal years, appropriations totaling $63 million are authorized. Next week, *East Lynn*.

Maybe it would be better, all things considered, to close this show on the road.

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Contradictions Abound

What Is U.S. Policy in Viet Nam?

By BARRY GOLDWATER

It is understandable if the Communists show no inclination to negotiate for peace in Viet Nam. They must be as confused about U.S. terms and purposes as some Americans are. Unfortunately, those who are most confused seem to work at the White House, the Defense Department or the State Department.

In fairly rapid succession, gentlemen on those various payrolls have said we are at war, we aren't at war; we want to win, we want only to phase out the fighting; there will be no privileged sanctuary for the enemy, there will be at least one major privileged sanctuary.

Those are just the major contradictions of Administration policy regarding Viet Nam. Every day there are minor ones in addition. The contradictory statements about whether we have or have not adequate equipment in the battle area would make a medium-size book.

When an enemy which has already taken the measure of one major Western power—France—is faced with a policy disarray of that order, he may well be excused for carrying on the fighting. What's he got to lose? He can always pick his terms for stopping sometime in the future. In the meantime he can score points.

This stituation is far worse than the one which led to a stalemate in Korea. There at least some of the terms were clear; for instance, the independence of South Korea. In Viet Nam, who really knows? The President has spoken of a neutralized Viet Nam, with the door left wide open for Communist domination; others have spoken of U.N. elections, coalition governments—you name it.

One of the problems is that everybody seems to have his own Viet Nam policy. If there is a national policy, it just has to get in line.

The President talks about winning a war. Most Americans, despite some shrill but minor discord, support him and admire him for that part of his stand.

Bill Moyers, his press secretary, however, acts more like one of the juvenile demonstrators parading in front of the White House. When Rep. Gerald Ford, House minority leader, reasonably suggested that the President should consider asking Congress for a declaration of war, if that is what we are fighting, Moyers snapped back with sophomoric, rude and disruptive sarcasm. He said he couldn't help it if some Republican wanted to go to war, thereby providing the sort of answer "peace sit-ins" cherish.

If he was reflecting the President's thinking, Mr. Johnson carefully has concealed this attitude so far. What does Moyers think we are doing in Viet Nam? Those are not Peace Corpsmen—those are Marines. They are not debating—they are dying.

Defense Secretary Robert McNamara feels free to make his own policies seemingly at will—and never mind the President. His latest policy decision, acting as deputy President for Vietnamese Affairs, is that we will pull out a few troops if the Communists will, and so forth until we just phase the war out, as neat as a bookkeeper's dream.

And then there is Averell Harriman, who has been as consistently connected with wrong decisions in Asia as any other present high-ranking employee of the Administration. While Secretary Rusk apparently stands on his often repeated statement that there will be no privileged sanctuaries for the Communists—a lesson from Korea—Ambassador Harriman is busy assuring the Communists that Hanoi is going to be just that—a privileged sanctuary, safe from our attacks.

No wonder we're in trouble in Viet Nam. Just look at the confusion in Washington.

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STARTLED—The Associated Press reports that "millions of middle-bracket taxpayers may be startled next year when they start totaling up the [Medicare] bill." For the typical wage earner, the increase in Social Security taxes will wipe out 60 per cent or more of the income tax cut he received in 1964-65.

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MUST BE NUTS—If some foreigner says he's in a club where others pay the bills but he gets to do most of the talking and voting, he's either nuts or a member of the United Nations.—By Nathan Nielsen in the Omaha (Neb.) *Evening World-Herald*

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Senate Rollcall On Foreign Aid

The Senate on August 24 approved a compromise version of the Johnson Administration's $3.36-billion foreign aid bill. The Senate conferees previously had relented on the House requirement the bill cover only one year (the Senate conferees had insisted on a two-year authorization) but rejected an amendment to cut off aid to Nasser's United Arab Republic or Sukarno's Indonesia as long as either continues aggression. The rollcall vote on final passage was 67 to 27.

FOR PASSAGE—67

Democrats—48

Anderson (N.M.)	Magnuson (Wash.)
Bartlett (Alaska)	Mansfield (Mont.)
Bass (Tenn.)	McGovern (S.D.)
Bayh (Ind.)	McIntyre (N.H.)
Brewster (Md.)	McNamara (Mich.)
Burdick (N.D.)	Metcalf (Mont.)
Byrd (W.Va.)	Mondale (Minn.)
Cannon (Nev.)	Monroney (Okla.)
Church (Idaho)	Montoya (N.M.)
Douglas (Ill.)	Moss (Utah)
Fulbright (Ark.)	Muskie (Me.)
Gore (Tenn.)	Nelson (Wis.)
Hart (Mich.)	Neuberger (Ore.)
Hartke (Ind.)	Pastore (R.I.)
Hayden (Ariz.)	Pell (R.I.)
Hill (Ala.)	Proxmire (Wis.)
Holland (Fla.)	Randolph (W.Va.)
Inouye (Hawaii)	Ribicoff (Conn.)
Jackson (Wash.)	Smathers (Fla.)
Kennedy (Mass.)	Symington (Mo.)
Kennedy (N.Y.)	Tydings (Md.)
Lausche (Ohio)	Williams (N.J.)
Long (Mo.)	Yarborough (Tex.)
Long (La.)	Young (Ohio)

Republicans—19

Aiken (Vt.)	Javits (N.Y.)
Allott (Colo.)	Kuchel (Calif.)
Boggs (Del.)	Morton (Ky.)
Carlson (Kan.)	Mundt (S.D.)
Case (N.J.)	Pearson (Kan.)
Cooper (Ky.)	Prouty (Vt.)
Dirksen (Ill.)	Saltonstall (Mass.)
Dominick (Colo.)	Scott (Pa.)
Fong (Hawaii)	Smith (Me.)
Hickenlooper (Iowa)	

AGAINST PASSAGE—27

Democrats—16

Bible (Nev.)	Jordan (N.C.)
Byrd (Va.)	McClellan (Ark.)
Dodd (Conn.)	Morse (Ore.
Eastland (Miss.)	Robertson (Va.)
Ellender (La.)	Russell (S.C.)
Ervin (N.C.)	Russell (Ga.)
Gruening (Alaska)	Stennis (Miss.)
Harris (Okla.)	Talmadge (Ga.)

Republicans—11

Bennett (Utah)	Simpson (Wyo.)
Cotton (N.H.)	Thurmond (S.C.)
Curtis (Neb.)	Tower (Tex.)
Fannin (Ariz.)	Williams (Del.)
Hruska (Neb.)	Young (N.D.)
Jordan (Idaho)	

Not voting, but announced as paired (pairs are used to denoted opposing positions of Senators when one or both is absent):

Miller (R.-Iowa) for, and Murphy (R.-Calif.) against.

Not voting, nor paired, but announced as for: Clark (D.-Pa.), McGee (D.-Wyo.).

States Should Kick Up Fuss on Reapportionment

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Now that Sen. Dirksen has been rebuffed on his amendment which would assure each state of the Union the right to base the membership of at least one local legislative chamber on geographical as opposed to a population representation, the states seem inexorably condemned to reapportion both houses of their legislatures in accordance with the recent U. S. Supreme Court "one-man, one-vote" edict.

But the effort to comply with the reapportionment order is going to cause some terrible wrenchings in certain sparsely populated counties and townships that stand to lose their old-time legislative identity. It isn't a case of "rotten boroughs" here; it's a case of regions that need protection in local option.

In Kansas, where there are 105 counties, some of them "wide to the wind and wide to the skies," the effort to give each geographical unit its historic representation in the state House of Representatives and still satisfy the "one-man, one-vote" idea of Chief Justice Earl Warren's court would, seemingly, create an impossible elephantiasis of one branch of the state legislature.

On the other hand, if rural geographical areas are to be merged with suburbs into new legislative districts, the old-time counties will cease to have any meaning as units. A hundred years of Kansas history will go down the drain.

Since the Supreme Court of Kansas feels that it must accept the supremacy clause of the U. S. Constitution, it has agreed to what it calls the "distasteful task of implementing the rule laid down" by the Warren Court. But the particular Kansas justice, Harold R. Fatzer, who was assigned the duty under the court's rules of writing the tribunal's majority opinion, accepted his job of spokesman under duress. First of all, he set it down as the court's official opinion that the language of the U. S. Supreme Court is opaque, if not incomprehensible.

In Kansas, 105 of the 125 seats in the House of Representatives have been apportioned to the state's counties. The remaining 20 seats have gone solely by population. The U. S. Supreme Court has said that a state can have some variances from a strict population standard provided the "equal population principle" isn't subverted, as it would be in a state where "the number of seats in the legislative body being apportioned does not significantly exceed the number of counties." The Kansas court remarks tartly that "we are not enlightened by the word 'significantly.' Does it mean 20, 30, 40, or how many seats?"

Having complained that it can't puzzle out the meaning of the U. S. Supreme Court's order, the Kansas court said nevertheless that it would try to obey the incomprehensible edict.

After writing the majority opinion of the Kansas court as was required by the work rules, Justice Fatzer turned right around and wrote his own personal dissenting opinion, taking six justices of the U. S. Supreme Court to task for trying "to enforce a federal right by an unwarranted interpretation where in fact no federal right exists under the Constitution."

Two members of the seven-man Kansas court, Chief Justice Parker and Justice Wertz, concurred in dissent. And three other justices, Frontron, Price and Schroeder, said they found themselves in agreement with many of the sentiments expressed in the dissent, but nevertheless felt themselves bound by the supremacy clause of the U. S. Constitution to suppress their convictions. With six out of seven Kansas judges saying in effect that the Supreme Court of the United States is wrong, it is entirely possible that a new majority opinion might be had in Kansas if somebody would request a rehearing. In which case, the Kansas court would be telling Warren's men to mind their own business.

In Connecticut, which is much older than Kansas, the small towns in the sparsely populated eastern and northwestern sections of the state stand to lose their legislative identity under reapportionment. The Connecticut Republican Citizens Committee, which has been formally disowned by the State Central Committee (which goes along with the Warren Court on reapportionment), thinks it has a winning issue in at least two big geographical areas in its "don't let your town be robbed of its representation" campaign.

Sen. Dirksen may have failed in his first attempt to get the U. S. Senate to accept an amendment that would overturn the edict of the Warren Court. But if the states kick up enough fuss, Dirksen might win the second time around.

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SLIGHTLY OFF— When Social Security was first enacted in 1935, *Time* magazine recalls, President Roosevelt estimated the government would be paying $3.5 billion a year in benefits by 1980. FDR was slightly off. The government's annual Social Security disbursements for 1967 are expected to total more than $24 billion.

Anti-Trust Laws Apply to Unions

From the *Weekly Labor Forecast and Review*

While organized labor is jubilant over the probable repeal of Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, it has received a blow from a U. S. Supreme Court decision that could be far more restrictive on labor activites than any limitations from right-to-work laws.

The Supreme Court has ruled that a labor union is subject to triple damages under anti-trust laws if it conspires with one set of employers to set a wage scale designed to drive other companies out of business.

James Hoffa, Teamster Union president, was one of the first to note the significance of this decision on labor union bargaining activities. "For the first time in the history of the labor movement, it is placed under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act," Hoffa said. "From now on, labor unions must negotiate by area and by economic classes with employers."

Labor lawyers see the long exemption of labor unions from federal anti-trust laws coming to an end and a growing trend to industry-wide and area-wide labor-management contracts being halted and possibly reversed.

This Supreme Court decision could destroy a labor-management bargaining pattern devised by labor unions of getting a contract from an outstanding company or companies in an industry and using it as a pattern contract for forced acceptance by other companies.

If this decision goes to a logical conclusion, it means every labor union must bargain with every individual company for a separate contract, based on the company's ability to pay.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

• The Clark MacGregor (R.-Minn.) immigration amendment to impose a ceiling on the number of immigrants that can come into the United States from the Western Hemisphere each year initially won in the House on a "teller" vote, only to be reversed on a rollcall after the Administration strong-armed Democrats into opposing the ceiling. At least 10 high-ranking State Department officials descended on the congressmen to talk them out of adopting the MacGregor measure. The battle to impose the ceiling has now moved to the Senate where the immigration subcommittee last week approved the restriction. Continued grass-roots support for the ceiling is needed to make it "stick."

MacGREGOR

• *LBJ has granted a presidential pardon to T. Lamar Caudle, the high-ranking Truman bureaucrat who was convicted and imprisoned for conspiracy to defraud the government. The pardon—among other things—means that Caudle can practice law before federal courts. It also cancels the $2,500 fine levied against him, a fine he had not paid.*

• *Human Events* subscribers have helped score another apparent victory over the Administration. According to inside reports, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield has said he won't bring up the Soviet-American consular convention this year. The reasons, say lawmakers, are three: J. Edgar Hoover's opposition, the opposition of five senators on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and, equally as important, a flood of letters—many from *Human Events* readers—to the Hill requesting senators to vote a resounding "No!" Many liberals, however, have refused to toss in the towel completely and may well try to sneak the treaty past the Senate toward the end of the session.

MANSFIELD

• *In implementing the so-called voting rights bill, federal registrars have engaged in an interesting practice. The registrars in Prentiss, Miss., for example, needed a place to set up business. They said they couldn't find any vacant buildings to suit their tastes. So, with a court condemnation order obtained under the guise of "eminent domain," they commandeered a motel owned by Mrs. Alagene Allen. Then, without her permission, they proceeded to cut doors into her walls, throw out her furniture and change the locks. Thus, say bitter critics, does LBJ further the civil rights of American citizens.*

• House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford (Mich.) charged last week that President Johnson was inviting a riot in the Nation's Capital because of his speech calling for home rule in the District of Columbia. The Michigan lawmaker assailed the President for having used the tragic memory of Los Angeles to put a pistol to Congress' head in an attempt to force action on the home rule bill. In his speech, LBJ had warned that demonstrations similar to those in Los Angeles could occur elsewhere. He emphasized that "the clock is ticking" in the District of Columbia, and indicated that the refusal of the House District Committee to support a home rule bill might initiate another demonstration. Ford said LBJ's speech was a "tragic day for responsible civil rights champions and the entire nation for the White House to possibly tempt those who might generate rioting and lawlessness."

FORD

This Week in Washington

Senate Showdown on 14b

Opponents of compulsory unionism received some welcome news last week. At least 25 senators, including the GOP's high command, have promised to lead a filibuster in the Senate to stop Lyndon Johnson from fulfilling his pledge to the AFL-CIO that he would repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, the law that permits states to pass right-to-work laws. These 25, furthermore, believe they can secure the support of enough additional senators to prevent the Democratic majority from bringing the issue to a vote. Two-thirds of the senators in the chamber are needed to close off debate.

The planned filibuster has not only antagonized big labor, now desperately trying to reverse this tactic, but has aroused the wrath of the thin-skinned President. If the filibuster succeeds, it would mean the first major setback to the "Great Society" steamroller.

What has really stung LBJ and Big Labor, however, is word that the "debate" will be spearheaded by none other than the talented Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.), the GOP's leader in the Senate.

Dirksen, accompanied by Democratic Senate leader Mike Mansfield, personally told the President at the White House on August 25 that he would lead the war against repeal. LBJ, in his most coaxing voice, was reported to have said: "You wouldn't do this to me, would you?" Dirksen replied he would.

The labor bosses and LBJ are reported to be particularly mystified because they've been talking as if they had Dirksen in tow. Dirksen, however, is said to be miffed at White House attempts to sabotage his reapportionment amendment and stung by criticism that he's been "Lyndon's Boy." Hence, he's decided to take a strong stand. Moreover, he feels 14b is one issue he, and the Republicans, can win on.

Insiders are saying much of the credit for keeping the filibuster idea alive can go to Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.), who has been talking up this tactic for several months. At one point, in fact, it was Thurmond who persuaded Dirksen not to drop the idea.

Initially, Dirksen said he wouldn't support a filibuster. Then Thurmond made an impassioned speech to the Senate Republican Policy Committee on August 3. The Policy Committee agreed to sound out fellow senators and both Paul Fannin (R.-Ariz.) and Carl Curtis (R.-Neb.) went scouting for support. They found many willing to support the filibuster, but no one who wanted to spearhead the campaign. A number of Democrats, including Spessard Holland (Fla.), Richard Russell (Ga.) and John McClellan (Ark.) were approached, but they all were unwilling to captain the campaign against Lyndon and Labor.

When it was revealed, however, that some 25 senators would support a filibuster, Dirksen volunteered. The hope is that he and other senators won't collapse under pressure.

The time to write your senator to support right-to-work is now.

Dominican Debacle

Sen. J. W. Fulbright's (D.-Ark.) intensive efforts to discredit LBJ's policy of sending Americans into the Dominican Republic to prevent a Red takeover may be having their intended effect (see story on Fulbright below).

In deference to Fulbright and other Administration critics, it is being said, the Administration has pulled its punches in cleaning out the Reds.

Rep. Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.), a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, remarked in a speech to his colleagues last week:

"U.S. troops who were committed to action in the Dominican Republic were arbitrarily stopped short of the announced need for their use and are now being used to provide a sanctuary for Communists. Nothing could demonstrate more the weakness, inconsistency and collapse of foreign policy under the Johnson Administration than the use of U.S. troops to protect Communists in the Dominican Republic, while thousands of additional fighting men are being committed to a war in Viet Nam."

Two reporters, both experts on Latin America, last week confirmed Derwinski's charges.

Jules Dubois, reporter for the Chicago *Tribune*, wrote from Santo Domingo:

"The Communists hold an infinitely small sector of Santo Domingo, yet they have received, and still receive, treatment as an alleged constitutional government by the OAS (Organization of American States). The United States knows, and so does the OAS, that the government of Caamano is no more a constitutional one than is that of Fidel Castro in Cuba."

The treatment accorded Caamano, added Dubois, "is a triumph for the effectiveness of the worldwide, Communist-leftist-liberal machinery, which formed a propaganda alliance to save Caamano and his Communists from destruction." Furthermore, noted Dubois, the man Washington is supporting to head a new regime is Hector Aristy, "minister of the presidency" for Caamano and an admitted friend of a number of pro-Reds.

Scripps-Howard reporter Hal Hendrix, also in Santo Domingo, came up with a similar view:

"Officials in the 'constitutionalist' regime of Col. Francisco Caamano Deno admit privately—but decline to be quoted by name for fear of reprisals—that the Communist element is in control of the rebel zone. . . .

"The State Department issued a list of more than 50 Communists, later expanded to 77, said to be involved with the rebel movement. . . . The fact remains that nearly all of those pinpointed by the United States still are in the rebel zone and are active. . . ."

Meanwhile, says Hendrix, Latin diplomats contend that Brazilian forces here under OAS auspices are getting increasingly irritated at what they consider the "soft" U.S. attitude toward the extremists in the rebel zone.

Hendrix quotes one Latin envoy: "The Brazilian officers and enlisted men alike say they thought they were sent here to fight against communism. But they reason now all they are doing is affording them protection and watching them get fatter with food supplied by the United States."

Fulbright's Slanted Pamphlet

In spite of the overwhelming evidence of serious Red infiltration in the Dominican rebel camp, Fulbright, as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recently issued a "background" brochure for the senators and the public which leaves the indelible impression that LBJ didn't know what he was doing when he sent in the Marines. The booklet, which has created a minor furore in the Capitol, is called "Background Information Relating to the Dominican Republic."

Remarked Sen. Thomas Dodd (D.-Conn.), a member of the Foreign Relations Committee:

"Unfortunately, the chronology quoted exclusively from press sources that were critical of Administration policy—the New York *Times*, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the Washington *Post*, *Le Monde* of Paris, the London *Observer*, the London *Times*, and the London *Economist*.

"The chronological summary also ignored the statements issued by the AFL-CIO and by Conatrol, the major Dominican labor federation, as well as by the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers."

Even more serious, said Dodd, is the fact that the brochure completely ignores the minutes of the 4th

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plenary session of the 10th meeting of consultation of the Organization of American States, at which the Special Committee on the Dominican Crisis submitted its report.

"This," said Dodd, "was a document of the greatest importance, because it makes it abundantly clear, in the words of the five Latin American diplomats who made up the Special Committee, that they shared the Administration's evaluation of the degree of Communist control in the rebel movement, and that, in general, they felt that the Administration had taken the only possible course of action."

Unable to refute Dodd's charges, Fulbright resorted to a lame alibi: There was a "shortage of time" to get everything in the background paper.

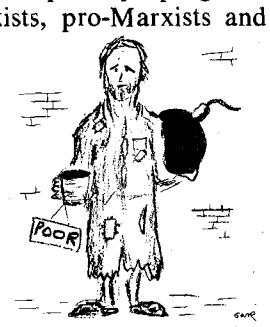
But this alibi did not hold water with Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio), also a Foreign Relations Committee member. Lausche indicated that the Fulbright-run hearings on the Dominican Republic were even worse that the background pamphlet.

Said the senator: "In the hearings I took violent exception to the efforts to develop a situation to show that this country was erroneously and wrongly in the Dominican Republic.

"My conclusion, based upon what took place there, was that a methodical effort was made to prove that the United States improperly entered into the Dominican Republic." (For details substantiating the Red threat in the Dominican Republic, readers should obtain the *Congressional Record* for August 23, pages 20504 to 20563.)

The War Against Capitalism

The federal government's "anti-poverty" program is becoming a haven for Marxists, pro-Marxists and extreme radicals:



Item: Congress recently authorized another $5 million for federal "juvenile delinquency" programs, including the still heavily Communist-infiltrated Mobilization for Youth outfit in New York. MFY is not only Red infiltrated (see *Human Events,* June 26, page 5), but has initiated rent strikes, disruptive demonstrations and other radical activities.

Item: The Community Action Training Center at Syracuse University—financed largely by federal funds—is, according to Mayor William F. Walsh, a center to "train agitators" and teach "Marxist doctrines of class conflict." This so-called training center has already organized pickets and sit-ins to force the Syracuse Housing Authority to comply with the demands of the demonstrators.

What is arousing much interest in the Capitol is that a rabble-rouser named Saul David Alinsky, who had been a paid consultant to the training center at Syracuse in spite of his attacks against the poverty program, has become a paid adviser to a number of anti-poverty programs, many of them financed by the federal government in Washington.

For several years Alinsky has been head of the Industrial Areas Foundation in Chicago which "counsels" citizens in poverty-stricken areas. The IAF sponsors the federally subsidized anti-poverty project in Chicago, The Woodlawn Organization, and it is behind the recently organized FIGHT, in Rochester, N.Y., which has submitted an application for federal funds.

Alinsky has also become a paid consultant to another local anti-poverty group looking for federal funds, the West Central Organization. The WCO, "serving" some 70,000 low-income persons in Detroit, want $60,000 more to keep Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation on the job.

Worried citizens in Detroit have expressed considerable concern about Alinsky. Alinsky, says an article in the Detroit *Free Press,* believes "the only way the poor are going to get what they need is through strong, militant organizations of their own.

"The organization that Alinsky strives to achieve is vicious and unrelenting in the use of pressure."

Alinsky's social philosophy is clearly presented in a book he is completing entitled *Rules for Revolution.* The first sentence reads, "Machiavelli wrote *The Prince* to tell the 'haves' how to keep it; this is a book to tell the 'have nots' how to take it away."

The *Free Press* article quotes Alinsky as saying: "This is a war against poverty, misery, delinquency, disease and injustice. The obstacles that must be moved are 'respectable' interests that get their income from the deprived and defenseless; employers who want cheap labor; 'nice' people who don't want to be disturbed.

"They play rough, and you have to play rough against them."

To achieve his goals, Alinsky advocates community agitation through picket lines and boycotts, mass meetings, rent strikes, demonstrations and sit-downs.

He says, "The only way to upset the power structure in your communities is to goad them, confuse them, irritate them and, most of all, make them live by their own rules. If you make them live by their own rules that will destroy them."

Alinsky recently lectured two large groups of Protestant clergy in California on the tactics of his "social revolution." The interest of these ministers is strange, says the Indianapolis *Star,* in view of the fact that Alinsky "scorns both political and religious dogma. His talks to the clergy are seasoned with sarcastic comments about organized religion, all of which the ministers appear to gobble up with an almost clinical masochistic glee."

One clergyman who does not seem to be taken in is Dr. Harold Fey, editor of the liberal *Christian Century,* who says, "I think his [Alinsky's] orientation is basically Marxist." Dr. Fey states that Alinsky proposes "a political movement whose object is to establish control over urban society by raising up from its ruins a power structure dictatorship based on slum dwellers."

Nevertheless, the federal government is allowing Alinsky to counsel a number of tax-supported anti-poverty programs.

Citizens Strike Down Urban Renewal

Urban renewal forces have received stunning setbacks in major cities in recent weeks. Crushing defeats were registered in Salt Lake City and Provo, Utah, where voters rejected urban renewal by landslide votes.

The Utah votes were all the more significant because urban renewal was energetically pushed by Gov. Calvin Rampton and Rep. David S. King, both Democrats; the League of Women Voters; the AFL-CIO; and the Salt Lake City *Morning Tribune,* the state's leading newspaper.

Opposition to the urban renewal referendum was led by Salt Lake City Mayor J. Bracken Lee, an independent Republican, and by Sheldon R. Brewster, an independent Democrat and former speaker of the state House of Representatives.

They used an effective slogan: "Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home—*your* home."

Mayor Lee charged that approval of the urban renewal plan would give the green light to federal bulldozers, that long-time residents would be uprooted, that taxes would skyrocket.

The voters agreed, rejecting the urban renewal project (and $1.6 million in "free federal money") by an astonishing 5-to-1 margin, 29,119 to 4,900. Lee said the vote "makes me even happier than any of my own victories when running for office."

Brewster expressed confidence "the entire community will join us in a community development program working successfully in more than 50 cities without federal subsidies and controls, higher taxes and the cruel power of eminent domain."

In Provo, the state's third largest city, voters defeated an urban renewal project by 3 to 1, 4,582 to 1,651.

• Terre Haute became the second major Indiana city this year to rebuke the urban renewal planners when the City Council last week passed up an opportunity to apply for federal urban renewal funds. "The way urban renewal is handled in Terre Haute is deplorable," said council President William Jarvis. (Earlier this year, Bloomington Mayor John Hooker announced his administration's opposition to further urban renewal.)

CAPITOL CAMERA

• Freshman Democratic Congressman Henry Helstoski of New Jersey recently bowed to labor demands and voted to repeal Section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act. He then polled his constituents, discovered that a majority responding favored retention of 14b. But he is not alone. Many Democrats and Republicans who voted for repeal of right-to-work are finding that issue coming back to haunt them. Freshman House members from Iowa, for example, are already considered in trouble for their anti-14b stand. "Moderate" Rep. James G. Fulton (R.-Pa.) is also learning his opposition to the measure has backfired. A sizable number of Pennsylvania Young Republicans, including the YRs from Fulton's home district, have declared they can no longer support Fulton, who has consistently leaned left of center in the Republican party. The Pennsylvania state YR newspaper editor became so infuriated at Fulton's vote he snapped: "Congressman Fulton should join the Democratic party where he obviously belongs."

FULTON

• *The first American soldier to escape Viet Cong captivity has reported that the activities of American "peaceniks" have demoralized GIs stationed on the front. In an interview with United Press International, Sgt. Isaac Camacho said the anti-war demonstrations "are very disheartening to the troops over there facing death today."*

• "Blind-Leading-the-Blind" Department: Last week, Arthur J. Goldberg, chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, invited the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to the United Nations to discuss the Viet Nam situation. Goldberg said he would also meet with Socialist party leader Norman Thomas, who continues to bugle for an American withdrawal in Asia.

GOLDBERG

• *A leading labor leader has criticized "War on Poverty" officials for creating "phony jobs" with taxpayer dollars. Harry Van Arsdale Jr., president of the New York Central Labor Council, charged that such make-work projects are "not a way to build a future for young people."*

Reprints Available

Two articles appearing in the August 28 issue of HUMAN EVENTS, "The Los Angeles Riots: Whose Fault?" by James Jackson Kilpatrick, and "Civil Rights Leaders Should Blame Themselves for Riots" by George S. Schuyler have evoked considerable interest and comment. These articles have been reprinted back to back on a single sheet, folded to fit size #10 envelope, and are available at the following prices:

Single copies 25¢; 10 for $1; 30 for $2; 100 for $5; 300 for $10; 1,000 for $25; 2,750 for $50.

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Washington, D.C. police maintain order as a busload of "pacifists" prepares to leave for jail following a sit-in at the entrance of the Capitol grounds on August 10.

Those Sinister 'Pacifists'

By RUSSELL KIRK

American foreign policy ought to be widely discussed. In that sense, the continuing "teach-ins" about Viet Nam are healthy enough.

Some of the participants in the "teach-ins" are people who must be taken seriously. Among these is Prof. Hans Morgenthau, whose views I discussed in a recent column. In friendly fashion, Dr. Morgenthau writes to me:

"I do not advocate withdrawal from Viet Nam without further ado, but only under the cover of a face-saving agreement. What I am afraid of is that the deeper we get into it, the more difficult it will be for us to get out, and in the end we might well be pushed by the dynamics of events into a direct confrontation with China."

Dr. Morgenthau's realism, however, is not shared by the majority of the vociferous opponents of America's stand in Southeast Asia. Some of these gentry are as Marxist, as sinister, and as unbalanced as was the late Lee Oswald.

At the First Congregational Church of Washington, D. C., for instance, there was held early this month a "teach-in" against American action in Viet Nam. The principal speaker was Prof. Staughton Lynd, of Yale, who compared leaders of the Viet Cong with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and other American patriots, while denouncing the present architects of our foreign policy as guilty of Nazi-like tactics.

Extreme though Dr. Lynd's words were, even this Yale professor may have experienced misgivings about many of his associates at the "teach-in." A graduate student who participated—Mr. Allan C. Brownfeld—describes to this commentator the character of that gathering, and of the mass demonstration at the Washington Monument which occurred the same weekend.

"As the demonstrators gathered on the Washington Monument grounds," Mr. Brownfeld says, "the objective observer could quickly see the tenor of the meeting. Among the publications displayed and distributed were the *Worker, National Guardian, Militant,* and *Workers World.* A petition was circulated proclaiming the innocence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and Morton Sobell. One table featured a Viet Cong flag, together with material published in Communist China. Trotsky seemed a hero to many of the participants, and money was being collected for the National Liberation Front in Viet Nam.

"Beneath the surface, the Communist and revolutionary nature of the protest was even more evident. I participated in extended discussions with many of the protesters, and frequently I heard the view that our American society was bankrupt, and that what's needed is a revolution. One representative of the National Liberation Front stated that 20 million American Negroes are enslaved, and that white blood will flow in the streets.

"Pacifism was simply a tactic of the majority of participants, not a conviction. They felt, for example, that it was proper to use force against Hitler. They simply felt that it was wrong to use force against Communists. They stated that Communist China was a benevolent society. I was told over and over again that our country is Fascistic, and that President Johnson should be killed, as the cause of all the terror in the world."

A principal real cause of terror in the world is the fanaticism and folly of such pseudo-pacifists as Mr. Brownfeld describes. They do as much for the cause of peace as the rioters of Watts did for the cause of true civil rights.

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WHO'D WORK FOR $4 SCHOLARSHIP? "A good illustration of how Socialistic 'share-the-wealth' policies destroy incentive came in Seattle recently when a $2,000 scholarship was awarded to the winner in competition among 500 members of the junior achievement program. Vying for a single $2,000 prize prompted each of the 500 students to put forth his best effort to win, it was pointed out. But suppose Socialistic 'equalization' of the scholarship award had been in effect, with every one of the 500 students assured of a scholarship? To make the available scholarship money go around, the value of the awards would have had to be reduced to $4 each. Consideration of how much time and effort a student would put into 'winning' a '$4 scholarship' he was assured of getting in the first place gives a good idea of why socialism has proved a failure."—From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

California Riots Could Mean Election Woe for Pat Brown

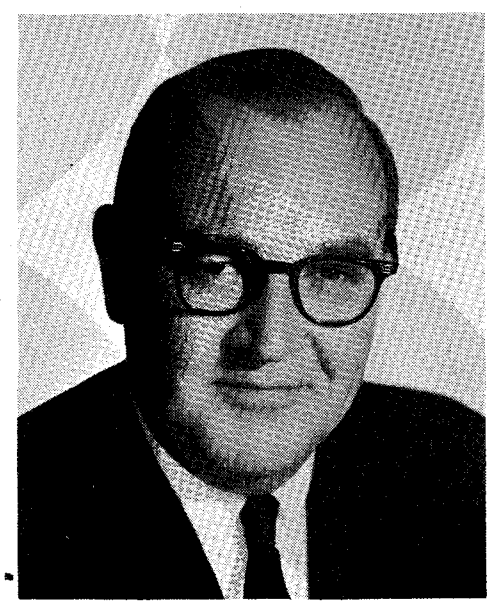
By FULTON LEWIS JR.

Gloomy pros at the Democratic National Committee fear that the Los Angeles riots may have sealed the political fate of California's bumbling governor, Edmund "Pat" Brown.

Brown, who had been expected to seek re-election next year, was in Athens when the riots first broke out. He was unable to reach his lieutenant governor, Glenn Anderson, to order out the National Guard.

Los Angeles Police Chief William H. Parker first asked for the guard at 10:50 Friday morning. It was not until 5:05 p.m. that Lt. Gov. Anderson called out the troops, and by that time the rioters had gained the upper hand.

Brown flew home, but editorial comment was blistering. The state's largest evening paper, the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner,* ripped the state administration in a scathing editorial entitled, "Brown in Athens, Anderson Fiddles, While Watts Burns." The paper said:



Gov. Pat Brown vacillated after returning to California.

"While lives of innocent citizens were at stake as rioters burned and looted stores and beat citizens and police, the state government wound itself in a maze of red tape over Chief of Police William H. Parker's request for assistance from the National Guard."

Back home, Brown has vacillated. He first suggested that Rev. Martin Luther King stay out of Los Angeles, then announced plans to withdraw the guard. This evoked from Los Angeles Mayor Sam Yorty the angry retort that the guard's job was not yet finished.

Brown was known to be in political trouble long before the riots. Taxes have soared and the crime rate has skyrocketed. The governor was the target of political sniping not only from Republicans but from his own party as well.

A poll of California voters taken just before the riots tested Brown against five Republicans for re-election. Each of the five—Thomas Kuchel, George Murphy, George Christopher, Goodwin Knight, and Ronald Reagan—was shown to be comfortably in front of Brown. The subsequent riots should increase their margins.

* * *

Security officials have learned that members of an ultra-militant Communist splinter group were active in the bloody racial riots that recently shook Chicago.

Members of the Spartacist Movement distributed leaflets in Chicago ghettos calling upon Negroes to battle the police. The leaflets were incendiary in nature:

"Drive the cops out. . . .Already in Los Angeles the Negro people are battling off the shock troops of the ruling class. . . . No one can fail to note the similarity between Los Angeles and Viet Nam."

Officials believe the literature helped spark the Chicago riots. At least one member of the tiny Marxist group was arrested and taken into custody.

The Spartacist Movement was formed last year by dissident members of the Socialist Workers party, who felt that the SWP had betrayed the principles of Leon Trotsky. Leaders of the group believe that Mao Tse-tung and Fidel Castro are moderates who need "additional dosages of revolution."

The movement is led by James Robertson, a mild-mannered one-time chemist who believes fervently in world revolution. "We want to be a Trotskyite party Trotsky would recognize," he says.

Spartacist leaders claim chapters in Austin, Tex.; Baltimore, Berkeley, Calif.; Chicago, Cincinnati, Eureka, Calif.; Houston, Ithaca, N.Y.; and New York City.

* * *

Yugoslavia's Josip Broz Tito last month bilked the U.S. Treasury of more than $20 million. An outraged Sen. Frank Lausche terms the get-rich-quick scheme "thievery, pure and simple."

Tito, the recipient of more than $2 billion in U.S. foreign aid, had promised to repay this nation approximately $52 million in various "loans."

The wily Red boss then turned around and devalued his currency by 60 per cent. The Yugoslav dinar, which had been pegged at 750 to the dollar, was re-pegged at 1,250 to the dollar.

By a stroke of the pen, Tito decreased the dollar value of his U.S. debts from $52 million to $31.2 million. He saved himself a cool $20.8 million.

Sen. Lausche, a maverick Democrat, feels that Uncle Sam has once again been short-changed. He calls the Tito move "a theft of money belonging to the United States."

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ORVILLE FREEMAN, secretary of agriculture, last year pushed through Congress a multi-billion-dollar farm program, asserting it could help end farm surpluses. Latest figures released by the department reveal that corn production for this year will total 4.1 billion bushels, up almost 10 per cent from last year. Wheat production will total almost 1.4 billion bushels, up 7 per cent from last year. Says the Associated Press: "Both corn and wheat were grown under government programs offering payments to growers holding down acreages to help reduce surpluses."

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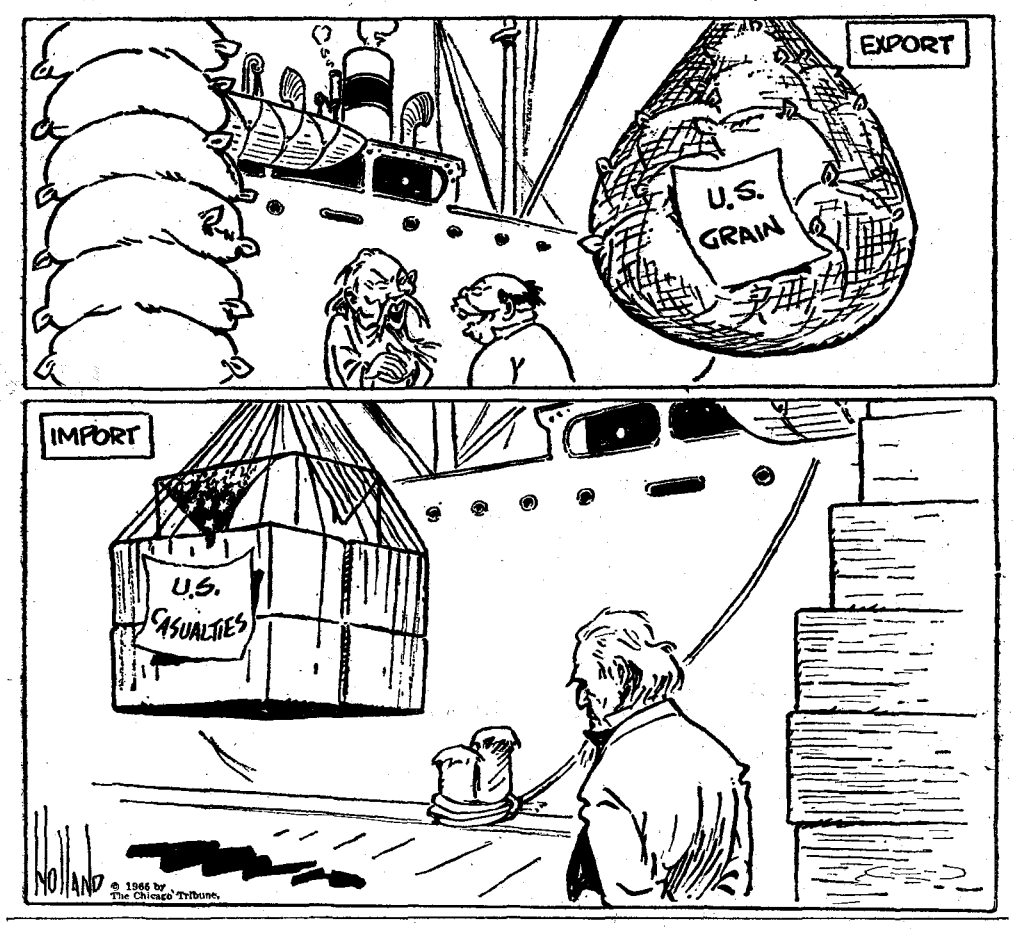
TRADE WITH NORTH VIET NAM



New Scheme to Feed Communists

From the Chicago *Tribune*

Officials of our State and Agriculture Departments are diligently promoting a new scheme to sell as much as a quarter of a billion dollars' worth of wheat to the Soviet Union and its European satellites. Incredible as it may seem, these officials are reported to be hoping that ultimately the deal will pave the way for selling American foodstuffs to Red China and Cuba.

The plan is to gain not only President Johnson's quick support for the sales, which shouldn't be difficult, but also his approval to modify shipping regulations designed specifically to benefit U. S. shipping and labor.

A major goal is to persuade the President to overturn the late President Kennedy's rule requiring that half the grain sold to Communist countries be delivered in American-owned ships manned by American crews.

It was precisely this rule which provided one of the chief arguments of the Kennedy Adminstration to put over the controversial wheat deal with the Russians late in 1963. It was also one of the reasons why that deal did not prove to be as big as the Administration had hoped.

American seamen get higher wages than foreign seamen, which means that costs of shipping in American vessels are substantially higher. Partly because of that, the Russians bought only about $140 million worth of wheat from us, instead of the $250 million worth we had hoped to sell them.

The maritime strike, which has been under way several weeks on the East and Gulf Coasts, makes largely academic any current decision of the effects on the shipping industry of the proposed new grain deal. It is fairly certain, however, that the Russians would transport their wheat in foreign vessels, if given a choice, which means our shipping industry would receive little benefit.

It is well to recall that much of the wheat and other grain our government proposes to sell to the Communists has been bought and paid for by the American taxpayer under the farm subsidy program.

Still on the books is the so-called Latta Amendment to the agricultural act of 1961, aimed at discouraging exports of subsidized farm commodities to Communist countries. Though not a legal ban on such exports, it nevertheless was a policy statement declaring it to be the sense of Congress that foodstuffs produced and bought by the government with the aid of tax monies should be exported only to "friendly" countries.

If the sale is approved, we will be selling wheat to Communists at 75 cents a bushel less than American flour millers have to pay for it. And if Congress authorizes the Administration's new wheat program, the Communists next year will be able to buy our wheat at $1.25 a bushel less than it is sold for food in this country.

In other words, the Administration proposes to sell our wheat to Communists at the low world price, while at the same time it is asking Congress to boost the price of domestic wheat for food to double the world price—which means American consumers would have to pay higher prices for wheat foods—for example, 2 cents a loaf more for bread.

Moreover, we are beginning to hear that inasmuch as our grain sales to Russia simply free Russian grain for export to Red China and Cuba, we might as well get in on this trade directly. Not mentioned is the argument that if we did not sell grain to Russia, it would have less grain to supply Red China and Cuba. And if we sell to Red China, why not ship food directly to North Viet Nam, even though it is directing a war against us and killing Americans in South Viet Nam?

Although grain is not usually classified as "strategic material" in the sense of arms and ammunition, it certainly becomes strategic when our enemies are hungry and can't feed themselves. Before President Johnson approves this scheme, he owes it to the American public to explain how feeding Communists anywhere is in the national interest.

Consumer Is Losing to Inflation

From the Cincinnati *Enquirer*

Putting extra dollars in the pockets of American consumers as a means of increasing spending power and thereby stimulating the nation's economy is proving to be a considerably more difficult task than anyone might have imagined.

There were a few optimists who felt that the job would be done by last year's sweeping cuts in individual income taxes and by this year's almost-as-sweeping cuts in excise taxes.

But there is an accumulation of evidence that the dollars the consumer was allowed to retain through these devices are being snatched up by increases in other federal taxes and by a steady rise in living costs.

On January 1, for example, Social Security taxes are due for a $5-billion increase—to pay for Medicare and other expanded Social Security payments. For a worker earning $6,600 or more a year, this will account for a $100 increase in his annual payroll tax.

A national survey undertaken recently by *U.S. News & World Report,* moreover, suggests that rising living costs—particularly for food—will be just as significant a factor in prying loose the consumer's dollars.

In Washington, to cite only one of several cities surveyed, hamburger is up 11.3 per cent from a year ago; loin pork roasts, up 33.9 per cent; ham, up 19 per cent; bacon, up 23.2 per cent; carrots, up 20.7 per cent.

On a nationwide basis, Department of Agriculture figures show that during the second quarter of 1965, compared with the same period a year ago, hog prices are up 36 per cent; cattle prices, up 15 per cent; potatoes, 52 per cent; vegetables, 27 per cent.

The impending disappearance of last year's tax cuts, combined with still-rising living costs, can scarcely fail to mean a new wave of demands for wage raises to keep pace. The spiral, once started, is not easily halted.

Mexico's Reminder

From the Dallas *Morning News*

Remember when Mexico refused to go all the way in a crackdown on Castro's Cuba? Maybe the Mexican government will soon be trying to forget it.

The newspaper *Excelsior* reports that a band of about 200 Cuba-trained terrorists is running wild in the north-central states of Zacatecas, Nayarit and Jalisco. The Mexico City newspaper quotes reports that small planes, landing on secret airstrips in Zacatecas state, have been ferrying Mexicans to Cuba for training in subversion, then transporting them back to Zacatecas.

These days you just don't know who your friends are, but it's a good bet that if you're a Latin American, it won't be Castro.

□ □ □

QUITE A SUGGESTION—A top aide to Martin Luther King, James Bevel, has said that it is time to form an "international peace army" to end violence and war. He suggested the following peace team go to Viet Nam and solve the conflict there: Dr. King, the Pope, Mrs. John F. Kennedy and Mrs. Nikita Khrushchev.

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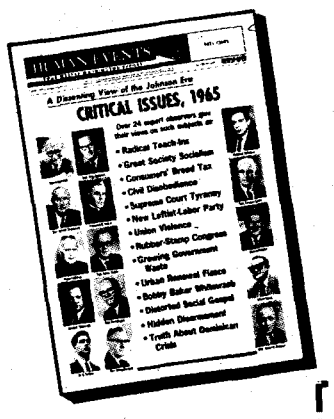

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House Rollcall on LBJ Farm Bill

Following is the 221-to-172 House rollcall vote on Aug. 19 on the Administration's omnibus farm bill. The margin of victory was provided by many big-city liberal Democrats even though the controversial "bread tax" provision was watered down. The bill now goes to the Senate.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 202

Adams
Albert
Anderson (Tenn.)
Annunzio
Ashley
Ashmore
Aspinall
Bandstra
Barrett
Beckworth
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brooks
Burke
Burleson
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Cabell
Callan
Casey
Celler
Chelf
Clark
Clevenger
Conyers
Cooley
Craley
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Davis (Ga.)
Dawson
de la Garza
Delaney
Denton
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dorn
Dow
Dowdy
Duncan (Ore.)
Dyal
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Evans (Colo.)
Evins (Tenn.)
Farbstein
Farnsley
Fascell
Fisher
Flood
Flynt
Foley
Ford, Wm.
Fountain
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Gettys
Gilbert
Gilligan
Gonzalez
Green (Pa.)
Greigg
Grider
Hagan (Ga.)
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Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Huot
Ichord
Joelson
Johnson (Okla.)
Jones (Mo.)
Jones (Ala.)
Karsten
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kee
Kelly
Keogh
King (Calif.)
King (Utah)
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Krebs
Landrum
Lennon
Love
McDowell
McFall
McGrath
McMillan
McVicker
Mackay
Mackie
Madden
Matthews
Meeds
Minish
Mink
Moeller
Morgan
Morrison
Moss
Multer
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Murray
Natcher
Nix
O'Brien
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen (Mont.)
Olson (Minn.)
O'Neal (Ga.)
O'Neill (Mass.)
Patman
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Poage
Pool
Powell
Price
Purcell
Race
Randall
Redlin
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rivers (S.C.)
Rivers (Alaska)
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rogers (Tex.)
Ronan
Roncalio
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Roosevelt
Rosenthal
Roush
St. Onge
Scheuer
Schisler
Schmidhauser
Secrest
Senner
Sickles
Sisk
Smith (Iowa)
Stalbaum
Steed
Stephens
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Sweeney
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tenzer
Thompson (Tex.)
Todd
Trimble
Tuck
Tunney
Tuten
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vigorito
Vivian
Walker (N.M.)
Watts
Weltner
White (Idaho)
Whitener
Willis
Yates
Young

REPUBLICANS FOR: 19

Andrews, Glenn
Andrews (N.D.)
Battin
Berry
Broyhill (N.C.)
Callaway
Dole
Ellsworth
Keith
Langen
MacGregor
Mize
Nelsen
Quie
Reifel
Shriver
Skubitz
Tupper
Watson

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 69

Abbitt
Abernethy
Addabbo
Baring
Bennett
Cameron
Carey
Cohelan
Colmer
Dent
Downing
Everett
Fallon
Farnum
Feighan
Fogarty
Garmatz
Gathings
Giaimo
Gibbons
Grabowski
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Haley
Hanley
Hardy
Harris
Hebert
Hechler
Herlong
Irwin
Jacobs
Jarman
Jennings
Johnson (Calif.)
Leggett
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
McCarthy
Macdonald
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Mills
Monagan
Morris
Nedzi
Ottinger
Passman
Pike
Pucinski
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
St. Germain
Selden
Shipley
Slack
Smith (Va.)
Staggers
Stratton
Vanik
Waggonner
Watkins
White (Tex.)
Whitten
Williams
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 103

Adair
Anderson (Ill.)
Arends
Ashbrook
Ayres
Baldwin
Bates
Belcher
Bell
Betts
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Byrnes (Wis.)
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Cleveland
Collier
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cramer
Cunningham
Curtin
Dague
Davis (Wis.)
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Duncan (Tenn.)
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Findley
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Griffin
Gross
Grover
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Halpern
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey (Mich.)
Harvey (Ind.)
Horton
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Kunkel
Laird
Latta
Lipscomb
McClory
McCulloch
McDade
McEwen
Mailliard
Martin (Ala.)
Martin (Neb.)
Mathias
May
Moore
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Pelly
Pirnie
Poff
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N.Y.)
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Robison
Roudebush
Rumsfeld
Saylor
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N.Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Walker (Miss.)
Whalley
Widnall
Wyatt
Wydler

House-Passed Bill:

Worse Than the 'Bread Tax'

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Those men and women in Congress are no dumb bunnies. Many of the best are brilliant. Others are quite sharp. And the worst are far from stupid.

They knew the "bread tax" President Lyndon B. Johnson called for in a new, dodge-the-solution wheat subsidy plan would kick up a reaction if people had to pay about two cents more for a loaf of bread.

So a "compromise" was worked out. The "bread tax" to raise the money for the LBJ subsidy is off. Instead, the subsidy "will come from the treasury." That change virtually assures passage of the LBJ bill.

Rep. Thomas Abernethy (D.-Miss.), attacking the direct farm payments, said the farmer "doesn't want a dole, he only wants . . . a fair price in the market."

But the Treasury doesn't have the money to pay the subsidy. Congress knows the budget is in the red and the national debt is climbing higher. But Congress will rubber stamp the LBJ plan and dodge the cost.

The American people would complain about the new tax if they had to pay it with every loaf of bread; most will be unaware of it as it's sneaked by with more red ink.

But red ink financing, mortgaging the future of our children, is worse than the "bread tax."

The LBJ subsidy plan ought to be rejected. A start toward farm sanity ought to be made by gradual reduction of subsidies with a view toward ending them. Congress ought to be called to account for the subterfuge of subsidizing when there isn't money in the treasury to pay the bill.

□ □ □

LATEST GIMMICK—Rep. Peter Frelinghuysen (R.-N.J.) notes LBJ's latest gimmick, signing major legislation into law at novel places. He suggests that LBJ sign the right-to-work repeal bill into law at the Capitol Hill bell tower monument to the late Sen. Robert A. Taft, "possibly to the tune of 'I Surrender, Dear.' "

□ □ □

GOOD POINT—A West Virginia taxpayer sent this plea to his congressman: "Please don't improve my life any more. I can't afford it."—Quoted in the Atlanta *Times*

Same Old Farm Program

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

The Administration's farm bill, now being tailored in the House of Representatives to fit a congressional consensus, continues the costly and discredited programs that have brought this nation 30 years of scandal and waste.

What makes this proposal such a profound disappointment is that the President knows what the problem is. Indeed, he and his advisers have upon occasion frankly told the country what is needed to solve it.

Last February, Mr. Johnson asserted that "farmers want freedom to grow and prosper, freedom to operate competitively and profitably in our present economic system."

Yet he has now asked for continuation of the rigged markets and production controls. He has asked that the American farmer be even further removed from the market and the law of supply and demand.

Last February the President said our objectives must be to "separate the social problems of rural America from the economic problems of commercial agriculture."

Yet this omnibus farm bill continues, amends and extends programs which have give 80 cents of every dollar of assistance to the 1 million farmers whose income exceeds $9,500—and spread the remaining 20 cents among those 2.5 million whose income is not so high.

Let us look at the wheat program. The Administration proposed to raise the price of domestic wheat to $2.50 a bushel and to pass the 50-cent price hike on to the millers and the like who are already on thin profit margins. But the millers would have to pass that hike over to the consumers, those who buy the most bread, large and poor families.

Thus the nation's poor would have been providing a subsidy which would have gone primarily to the nation's profit-making commercial wheat farmers.

Opposition from urban congressmen finally got the cost of the new subsidy shifted from the people as consumers back to the people as taxpayers. As written now, the treasury would foot the bill.

We do not recommend that government, after 30 years of supporting prices and carrying surpluses, suddenly get out of agriculture. But we do urge that government design its programs to go along with progress rather than to frustrate it.

We urge that government accept the inevitable; that legislation be designed not to block the future, but to ease the hardships which progress may bring to people and property.

Our efficient farmers can produce all the food and fiber America needs. Our programs should reflect this and they should stop trying to keep on the farms inefficient farmers whom we do not need and whom we only delude by keeping there.

Poor folk in rural areas are not an agricultural problem; they are a social problem. The government should abandon efforts to keep them in farming and concentrate on efforts to bring them into areas and pursuits where they have a living to make and a future.

Write Your Senators

The Senate will soon vote on this big-spend farm bill. If you are opposed to a continuation of this costly and ineffective legislation, write or telegraph your two senators.

Disarmament Talks

On-Site Inspection Is Essential

From the Nashville *Banner*

Counting on Soviet Russia to honor any nuclear disarmament agreement not enforceable by on-site inspections would be for the United States a gamble with loaded dice. That is the crux of the matter, changed not at all by the Kremlin's announcement, through its negotiator at Geneva, that it is "prepared to sign new disarmament agreements with the West regardless of the war in Viet Nam."

The statement is an intimation of progress only in that until now that delegate, Semyon K. Tsarapkin, has been declaring that no pact is possible until the United States gets its troops out of that Southeast Asian theater. If this is an implied "softening" of Moscow policy in that particular, it still contains the boobytrap premise stated; and U.S. judgment surely rejects it.

From the security standpoint, similarly hazardous would be Mr. Tsarapkin's other stipulation: The scrapping of plans by the West for a NATO nuclear force. Obviously, the Soviet design is for disarmament of the West.

The U.S. delegation has not introduced at Geneva an improvised nuclear-control formula. When the marathon sessions began there in the '50s, this nation's insistence was on the provision for mutual inspection—recognizing that there was no other possible way of guaranteeing compliance with any agreement reached.

The Kennedy Administration's departure from that safeguard—in pursuit of the atmospheric test-ban treaty—is not to the security-minded a recommendation for junking it in the broader field of disarmament per se.

On-site inspection still is absolutely mandatory because, to put it bluntly, no trust can be placed in unsupported Soviet promises. That does not mean a U.S. peek at Russian installations, or vice versa. It does mean a fact-finding look, regularly and periodically made, by a competent international team, and would be mutual.

It would be the fair approach, and the only safe approach, basic to any acceptable agreement.

It is futile to talk about limiting proliferation or the testing of nuclear devices without full and open inspection. Ground, air and space monitors of nuclear explosions are not sufficient guarantees against violations.

Any agreement providing less than that would not be worth the paper on which it would be written.

The U.S. course is clear, if precedent means anything. We must stand firm on the point stated; insistence of open inspections, as the introductory point of any further, or enlarged discussions.

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Ho Chi Minh Is More Than a Dedicated Nationalist; He Is a Completely Disciplined Communist Leader

By the REV. DANIEL LYONS, S. J. Reprinted with permission from *Our Sunday Visitor*

En route to Saigon:—It has been over a year since I last visited Viet Nam, and I am looking forward to seeing it again. Not that the sight of war is something to anticipate, but a person feels compelled to learn whatever he can, particularly a writer or a lecturer.

The trip, by commercial airline, is sponsored by the Department of Defense. Three writers were selected to make the journey: Mr. Ben Hartley, of the *Presbyterian Survey* magazine; Mr. David White, of the *Jewish Digest*; and me, the "Right or Wrong" columnist of *Our Sunday Visitor*, representing the Catholic press.

Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung (above) has been a lifelong friend of Ho Chi Minh.

Leaving Honolulu, we took the long hop to Guam, in the Mariana Islands, stepping across the International Date Line and dropping a day off the calendar, to be mysteriously restored on our return. From Guam we fly to Manila, and then to Saigon.

There were unfriendly people around the Saigon airport the last time I was there. The Viet Cong had a nasty habit of firing at your plane when you tried to land. Bullet holes in the fuselage are not a very nice reception. This time, however, the airport is guarded by U.S. Marines, who always do their best to keep things "well in hand."

Long Time Leader

How did this war get started in the first place? More than anything else, it is attributable to one single man. Very little has been written about Ho Chi Minh, although he seems to the West like a Chinese Methuselah.

His surname is Nguyen. His full name is Nguyen Ai Quoc. Ai Quoc was the name given him by his father, meaning "love of fatherland." But Ho has been a man of many aliases. His role as a Communist in Indochina has been so powerful that no other figure compares to him. He is the founder of communism, not only in both Viet Nams, but in Laos and Cambodia as well.

Ho Chi Minh's father was a practitioner of Chinese herbs in Viet Nam, but his father seems to have had very little influence over him. Ho was born in 1890. He studied the Chinese classics as a boy, part of the time in the same school in Hue where Diem was to study 10 years later. Ho learned Vietnamese and Chinese at school. Later he learned to speak English, French and Russian.

After Ho qualified as a teacher in 1911, he shipped out as a seaman on a French vessel sailing from Saigon to Marseilles. After several visits to France he became a Communist. From 1913 to 1917, Ho Chi Minh worked in the kitchen of the Carlton Hotel in London. But he became so involved in left-wing activity that he moved to France, where 60,000 Vietnamese soldiers and seamen provided fertile soil for his Communist activity.

Together with Nguyen The Truyen (who ran against Diem for president in 1961), Ho published a magazine in Vietnamese against colonialism. He joined the Socialist party in France, and as a delegate to the Socialist Congress in 1920 he voted for "Scientific Socialism: Communism."

In 1924, Ho Chi Minh studied at the Eastern Workers University in Soviet Russia. The following year he began working for the Communist party in China, where he became secretary to the well-known Communist, Michael Borodin. He also worked very closely with Chou En-lai and other top Chinese Communist leaders. Ho next organized the Vietnamese Revolutionary Comrades, in Canton.

Sold Out Comrades

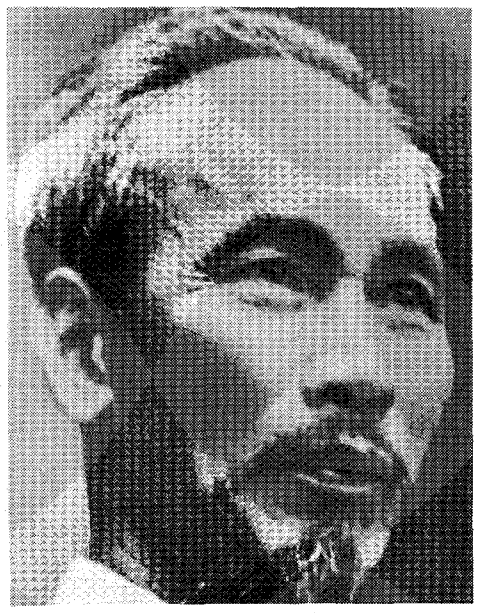
Ho Chi Minh served for years as an informer to the French consul in Hong Kong. In this way he not only got rid of his political rivals, he got paid for doing so. In 1925 he sold a Vietnamese leader, Phan Boi Chau, to the French security forces for 100,000 piasters. At that time you could buy a water buffalo for five or six piasters.

Ho Chi Minh learned a great deal about political and military warfare, particularly guerrilla tactics, from the Chinese Communists. He is one of the most experienced conspirators alive, having escaped from police traps in many countries on dozens of occasions.

During all these years he took his orders directly from the Comintern in Russia. Throughout the 1920s he returned to Viet Nam occasionally to direct the Popular Front against the French. In the spring of 1941 he was summoned to Moscow, and it was at this time that he took his permanent alias, Ho Chi Minh, "the enlightened one."

When France capitulated to Hitler, Moscow summoned Ho for instructions, and then sent him to Indochina. He formed the Viet Minh, and by opposing the Japanese as well as the French, he received both financial and military aid from the United States, Britain and Nationalist China. He claimed at this time to be a Vietnamese patriot, "nothing more."

After the surrender of Japan, the French returned to Indochina, and Ho Chi Minh was attacked by both the French and the Nationalist Chinese. Ho was in desperate straits, but to his surprise and good fortune, France convinced Chiang Kai-shek that he should withdraw from Indochina, thinking she could make short shrift of Ho's forces. This gave Ho time to build up his strength, and to defeat the various Vietnamese nationalist forces opposing him.



Ho Chi Minh has not negotiated with us, says Father Lyons, because he expects us to lose our patience and pull out.

Ho Chi Minh has been a lifelong friend of Mao Tse-tung. By calling a truce in Korea, Mao was able to increase his aid to Ho. Red China sent 150,000 troops to Viet Nam disguised as peasants in the early 1950s, and this did much to bring about the defeat of France in 1954.

Ho Chi Minh is a completely disciplined, dedicated, ruthless Communist leader. Family ties have never interested him, and the reason he has not negotiated with the United States is that he expects us to lose our patience and pull out.

Ho knows, of course, that he is the aggressor, and as long as he feels he can gain by aggression, he will continue to commit it. He is also under pressure from Red China to continue.

Those who think they can change Ho's mind merely by "reasoning together" with him, or by writing him a letter, simply do not understand the Communist mentality. If they first went to Chicago and tried to reason with the Mafia for awhile by appealing to their good will, they might get an insight into the mentality of Nguyen Ai Quoc, the main difference being that the Mafia would be much more amenable to reason.

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MERELY RATIFIES—The publisher of the Knight Newspapers, John B. Knight, has sharply rapped the Democratic Congress: "My personal view is that the present Congress has not been effective in the sense that the framers of the Constitution intended it to be. For here we have seen no balance of power within government. This Congress neither questions nor investigates. It merely ratifies."

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POLICE STATE—An official of the Internal Revenue Service has conceded that IRS agents in Miami bugged a public telephone booth and recorded all conversations therein. Another IRS agent, Thomas Mennitt, testified before a Senate subcommittee that he would knowingly break laws against wiretapping "if my superiors told me to." Subcommittee Chairman Edward Long (D.-Mo.) was incredulous: "Don't you know that it is the basis of a police state for an officer to take the law into his own hands? I am amazed and concerned that government officers blindly follow a superior, who in turn says he was simply following another superior and so on up the line."

Courtesy St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

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Urban Affairs Dept. Means Federal Control of Cities

From the Arizona *Republic*

Congress, under the effective prodding of the President, has taken the American people another long step down the road to a unitary, centralized government. Both chambers have passed nearly identical bills to create a Department of Housing and Urban Development. The minor difficulties will soon be reconciled, and the bill will be signed into law by the President in the near future.

Since President Johnson has decided to sign bills away from his office, we suggest that he visit Arizona and sign the urban development bill at Old Oraibi, the oldest continuously inhabited city in the United States. He might tell a Hopi chief how much the federal government is going to do for Oraibi. The answer, we suspect, would be a horse laugh. After all, the Indians have been controlled by Washington for a good many years.

Housing and urban development will be the 11th federal department, and its chief will be a member of the President's Cabinet. This means that the Department of Urban Affairs will have the same status in the federal government as the Department of State and the Department of National Defense. It seems obvious that the problems of state and defense are national in character, while urban affairs are purely local matters. But the federal union, created to handle national affairs, has assumed more and more control over local affairs.

Nowhere does the U.S. Constitution give the federal government any control over urban affairs. Only a legalistic warping of the due process and public welfare clauses has made such interference possible. But make no mistake: the United States is more and more concerning itself with the purely local affairs that have so long been the prerogative of the cities.

Perhaps the most dramatic evidence of this centralization of power is the ceaseless flow of local officials to Washington for conferences. Scarcely a week passes but some city or county department head goes from Phoenix to Washington to get the answer to a problem which, a few years ago, would have been solved in city hall or the court house.

An example of the new Washington pressures can be found in Mayor Graham's calendar for this year. On five occasions in a little less than eight months the mayor has had to go back to Washington. These weren't sightseeing trips or social junkets. He's been in Washington before.

But Mayor Graham had to make the trips to get money or advance legislation or secure directives from the great federal bureaucracy which is steadily increasing its control over "every Middlesex, village and farm," if we may borrow the words that Longfellow used in a completely different context.

It should be noted that the mayors held their national conference in Washington this year. The governors, by the way, started their conference in Minneapolis but ended up in Washington when President Johnson said, "Y'all come and see me." The governors, it should be made clear, spend just as much time in the nation's capital as the mayors.

President Johnson undoubtedly meant it when he said, in hailing passage of the urban affairs bill, "We will make sure that every American has access to a home of dignity and a neighborhood of pride." But we don't think he'll do it by making the mayors of this nation's cities mere errand boys for a federal department that already has 13,500 employes.

Robert Weaver, who probably will be head of the Urban Affairs Department, once spoke contemptuously of "local fiefdoms" that wanted to conduct their own affairs. He certainly cannot now be expected to leave power in local hands if there is any way he can get that power for his own department.

The quickest way to solve local problems, to create homes of dignity and neighborhoods of pride, would be to give the cities tax sources now preempted by the federal government and let them solve their own problems. History is full of examples—Russia is the most recent—of nations that have learned about the evils of centralization the hard way. Surely it is the leading irony of our times that Russia, where the state is supreme, is decentralizing while the United States, built on individual initiative, is centralizing its government functions.

The folly of trying to centralize the vast energies and resources of the United States will become clearer and clearer in the days ahead. With luck, the tide can be reversed before it is too late.

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Line Forms Outside The New Office

Courtesy Arizona *Republic*

Is the Federal Gov't Aiding Riots?

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

You don't put a wolf to guard a sheepfold—or do you? Or hire a riot-raiser to advise on the administration of an act of Congress—well, hardly ever.

But Sargent Shriver, director of both the Peace Corps and the "War on Poverty," admits to hiring a man named Paul Jacobs and paying him out of the taxpayers' pocket to help at "planning the program" for abolishing poverty in the United States.

Who is Paul Jacobs? His name turned up in some background research which this correspondent has undertaken on the Los Angeles race riots.

Jacobs was described in the Los Angeles Times of May 6 as an "architect" of Shriver's Job Corps in California. He was identified in the same story as one of the leaders who instigated demonstrations at the University of California against the President's foreign policy. Jacobs said that intellectuals must "refuse to affiliate themselves in any way with the U.S. government" in its anti-Communist actions in the Dominican Republic.

"We resign from the horrible war!" he declared in presenting a pacifist manifesto signed by 50-some California University professors. Later that same day 40 students, led by one James Petras, held a rally and publicly burned their draft cards.

The name of Jacobs, a labor organizer and author, was not mentioned by Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), who had called us together recently to discuss the Negro uprising in Los Angeles. But the senator did relate the Negro insurrection to the insurrectionist activities on the Berkeley campus, and specifically to the rites of burning draft cards. A little shoe leather work soon disclosed that Murphy had asked Shriver on May 12 to identify Jacobs—Jacobs who seemed to the senator a strange animal to keep around the sheepfold of the American poor.

Is it tenuous reasoning to connect domestic insurrection with the anti-Communist wars we are fighting? Are the Molotov cocktails that killed Americans in California out of the same arsenal as the weapons of the Viet Cong? Well, Sen. Murphy told us that the Los Angeles looting was so well executed that there must have been a "rehearsal." I learned later that he probably was thinking of the Black Muslim handbills distributed in Los Angeles and urging Negroes to "rise up and take what's rightfully theirs." Murphy mentioned the gathering of "militant bands" of Communists in California to exploit the rioting.

The American people are slow to believe that "rehearsed" crime in the streets can be part of the same battle their sons are fighting against Communists in the fields of war. The American political leaders of the day are scared stiff that in preaching self-pity and anti-poverty, they have taught lawlessness and anti-capitalism—which are what the Communists themselves have taught the poor in other lands.

Sen. Murphy, fast becoming a respected figure in Washington, stopped just short of saying much that needs to be said. But he did suggest a connection between civil disobedience by the intellectuals and rioting by the underprivileged. He did have in mind that lack of vigilance, such as Shriver's hiring of a man like Jacobs, relates to the general inability of the liberals to control those forces which their preachments have set in motion.

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A Speculative Report

Algeria: Is the Mediterranean Another Missile Trap?

By JEFFREY ST. JOHN

Does the dreaded shadow of Soviet dictator Stalin lurk behind the bland exterior of the new Algerian strongman, Col. Houari Boumedienne? Does the Moslem fanatic, who recently deposed Algerian President Ahmed Ben Bella, play an all-important part in the Kremlin's plans for putting Peking in her place, while using Algeria as a military axis for a Mediterranean missile trap against the West?

These shocking questions are posed as a result of seemingly unconnected events over the past few months. But when pieced together they form a portrait of possible peril for the Western nations; one in which the security of Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America could be checkmated.

Such sweeping statements may take on much more meaning if we put together step by step the pieces of this puzzle.

Contrary to continuing press reports from Algeria, this correspondent views the rise of Col. Boumedienne with grave misgivings. The French privately regard the current military strongman as a fanatic who once boasted he would not mind seeing a "brutal social revolution." It is a mistake to so quickly credit Boumedienne with anti-Communist leanings—despite his declaration of friendship and a cordial July 4 Independence Day message to Washington. His boasts belie his record of Communist cooperation.

Boumedienne does not dispute the fact he was trained in Moscow and Peking, as were some of his closest aides. He handled the most intimate details of obtaining arms and ammunition for the infant Algerian revolt against France in 1954, and later secured from the Soviets military and economic aid. He has directed the flow of Soviet and Chinese arms to the insurgents in African nations since Algeria's independence in 1962. Boumedienne has also maintained tight control of the Algerian armed forces.

Ben Bella, since 1962 we should remember, did not hold the real power in Algeria: the armed forces. This makes suspect all the speculation about Boumedienne moving against Ben Bella before the Algerian president could topple him. Instead it confirms earlier reports that Ben Bella was largely a puppet for the military. Did Ben Bella bridle under such a role and was he ousted because power had gone to his head? It's highly likely.

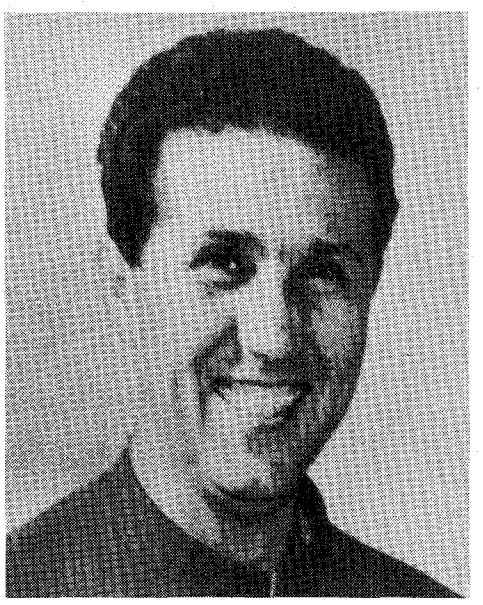
What of the Algerian coup coming only days before the Afro-Asian Conference, which has now been put off until November? To be sure, Peking has suffered great loss of face and prestige as a result of the conference cancellation. But does Ben Bella's ouster have anything to do with his pro-Peking leanings? And what of the vanishing act of Ben Bella's pro-Peking pal, Cuba's Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara?

It may be a coincidence that two principal Peking supporters have been ousted, with Moscow gaining a strategic advantage by the cancellation of the Afro-Asian conference. But, in the past, have coincidences of such far-reaching importance rocked the Communist world? Hardly.

Algeria and Cuba represent for Russia an investment in billions of dollars of economic and military assistance. This is also true for Nasser's Egypt. Peking, having spent smaller sums in Egypt, Algeria and Cuba, hoped to cheaply woo and win these three nations. In the cases of Algeria and Cuba, Peking was succeeding while Guevara and Ben Bella maintained power and prestige. That may now be ended with both gone.

These events in North Africa, the Middle East and Latin America are much more sinister when you realize what has been taking place in Russia since October of 1964, the month Khrushchev was ousted from power.

It has been acknowledged that the dual leadership of Alexei Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnev was to be short lived and mere window dressing for the real power in the Kremlin: *three former Stalin hatchet men*. The first is crafty Anastas Mikoyan, the Khrushchev man



President Ahmed Ben Bella was deposed in a coup in June.

in Budapest during the 1956 Hungarian uprising and manager of the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. The second is former Stalinist theoretician Mikhail Suslov, the man credited with engineering the coup against Khrushchev. However, the most important of this tyrannical trio is handsome, 46-year-old Alexander Shelepin, one-time head of the KGB Soviet Secret Police and State Security. The Secret Police lost prestige and power in Russia when Khrushchev did away with former Secret Police Chief Lavrenti Beria shortly after Stalin's death. The Secret Police long waited for the day when they might even the score. It apparently came in October 1964.

Shelepin is said to be the Soviet official on the make in Moscow these days, packing party posts with his own men as a powerful member of the Soviet Presidium. He also is reported to be doing the same in the Soviet armed forces, passing out promotions in return for loyalty. Will Shelepin emerge in a coup against the current dual leadership once his packing operation is complete? We may not have long to wait for an answer.

Problems within the Soviet Union are piling up, economic and agricultural dislocation are, of course, well known. The much more serious problem is with Peking and its drive to dominate the Communist world and replace Russia as the leader. The fact that Peking was seeking to have a resolution passed barring Moscow from the now-cancelled Afro-Asian conference in Algeria may have forced Moscow to move with a little murder and muscle. It might also signal the opening round in a much more sinister development: the re-emergence of Stalinist-like foreign policy, directed from behind the scenes by three of Stalin's former hatchet men, Mikoyan, Suslov and Shelepin.

Thirteen months ago, French presidential candidate Jean Louis Tixier-Vanacour told the editor-in-chief of the Hearst newspaper in Paris that "I am in possession of information that a missile base controlled by the Communists has been erected or is just in the process of being finished in Algeria. It is located at La Calle, east of Bone near the Tunisian frontier."

Other reports have persisted for months; the kind that continued months before the Kremlin missile trap was snapped shut in Cuba. Algeria, armed with Soviet missiles, would be a nuclear dagger at Europe's back, and would also endanger the U.S. 6th Fleet in the Mediterranean.

One could dispute claims of Russian missiles in Algeria if it were not for another little known fact: a few thousand miles to the east of Algeria is Cyprus. That island nation has concluded with the Soviets a military assistance deal! Included in this deal was a shipment in December of 1964 of military equipment that included missiles. John N. Rigos, writing for the *Christian Science Monitor* from Nicosia, noted this fact and that the Greek government protested landing of the missiles (reported later to have been returned to Egypt). But what remains on Cyprus is a large military consignment shipped by the Soviets.

The claim is that the missiles were short-range anti-aircraft missiles. But the Cuban experience, if it taught us anything, left us with the lesson that Soviet defensive weapons have a strange way of becoming offensive overnight.

If those missiles were returned to Egypt, it raises the issue of Moscow-Cairo cooperation, long suspected but persistently downgraded.

The Israeli Intelligence Service, the Shimbet, is convinced that Nasser is preparing for aggression and that recent border clashes have been probes to test Israeli defenses. Moscow has provided almost all the armament for Nasser's bogged-down aggression in Yemen. Disunion in the Arab world, along with economic stagnation within the Arab world, threatens Nasser's dream of Middle Eastern solidarity.

Pieced together, the picture gives us this possible view: Algeria armed with Soviet missiles taken out from under wraps, along with missiles in Cyprus, would bring Europe and the Middle East under immediate threat. This could easily cover and checkmate any counter U. S. move if Nasser launched an invasion against Israel. Great pressures would be generated from the Jewish community in this country for the United States to come to the defense of Israel. But how could we, if checkmated by missiles in Algeria and Cyprus aimed at Europe? And what, if in fact,

Is new Algerian strongman Col. Houari Boumedienne a true anti-Communist?

those reports from Cuba prove, once again, correct . . . that the Soviets have not withdrawn their missiles and they are now hidden in caves in Cuba? What would the U. S. be compelled to do if three missile traps, in Algeria, Cyprus and Cuba, were sprung simultaneously?

And was the Dominican crisis, *after* the bombing in North Viet Nam was nailed down as official national policy, a test of U. S. intentions in the Caribbean?

Also, are recent harassments along the Berlin corridor further tests and probes by the Soviets? The stirrings in the Kremlin by the former Stalinist trio comes on the heels of Hungary's Premier Kadar stepping down and the little noted military buildup in Eastern Europe of Soviet and Iron Curtain divisions, numbering some 100.

The United States, along with its allies in Asia, is putting greater fire power into South Viet Nam as the rainy season military offensive hits high gear. What of those Russian missile sites in North Viet Nam? What would Johnson be forced to give, in the way of concessions, if the Soviets created a missile crisis in Algeria, Cyprus and Cuba, while Nasser launched a military offensive against Israel? To give greater weight to its pressure, Berlin might be thrown in for extra measure. All the signs are present in each sector of this all-encompassing crisis that could be created by the Kremlin.

Incredible? Perhaps. But no more incredible than Cuba, 1962.

Possible projected zero hour? The optimum time would be late this summer and at the height of the current military campaign in South Viet Nam. The first sign could come when the dual leadership in the Kremlin is shoved aside, to be replaced by the strongman, Alexander Shelepin.

With all these dangerous signs manifesting themselves across the globe, it's gibberish to assume without hard facts that recent events in Algeria are a break for the West. Or that the Kremlin is the key to unlocking the door that leads down the path of peace and cooperation. Recent events, while still inconclusive, cast long shadows across the face of the West; shadows that nevertheless starkly reveal that while Stalin is gone his ruthless policies of global conquest may still live on and imperil all mankind.

Mr. St. John is the executive editor of the monthly magazine, Report: Perspective on the News. *A former assistant news director of the ABC radio network, he now is a radio news commentator in New York City. He has covered Washington as a State Department and White House correspondent and was also based for a time at the United Nations. His overseas assignments have taken him to Asia, Africa and the Middle East.*

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Bosch's Closest Aides Reveal He Cooperated with Communists

By VICTOR RIESEL

Mexico City:—Bit by bit during this correspondent's digging through the Caribbean and Latin America, evidence of the organized Communist cadres' ability to paralyze the nervous system of the Dominican Republic before U.S. troops landed has become mountainous.

Furthermore, there are hemispheric labor leaders in this gracious and tolerant city—the new Paris of the world—who state flatly that the Dominicans' ex-president Juan Bosch was well aware of the Moscovite and Peking strength in his country and tolerated it.

The labor men, who have had long conversations with some of rebel leader Bosch's closest aides, also state that he played with the Communists in an effort to bolster his own strength.

When Bosch was in power as president, I have been told, he and his aides attempted to build a "revolutionary labor arm" of his party.

Prof. Bosch planned to create a fighting force to hurl against his opponents. The "troops" would have come from the merger of Communist and anti-Communist unions into a federation controlled by his Dominican Revolutionary Party.

No one insinuates that the now violently anti-U.S. Juan Bosch was a Communist. The labor men here, most of whom were his friends during his days of exile years ago, states that he believed that he could "handle" the Moscow and Castro and Peking machines. That's why he permitted them to return to Santo Domingo through his "open door policy" after they had been exiled by the previous government.

Thus when Bosch gave the signal for the revolt last spring, the Communists were in a position to move disciplined squads into the anti-Communist labor headquarters, the radio and television facilities, the telephone and cable exchanges, the power plants, banks, docks, warehouses and command posts on key city blocks.

Well-informed labor men believe this was actually accomplished in three hours after the revolution began. Thus, virtually all Latin labor chiefs heartily approve the swift U.S. moves in Santo Domingo.

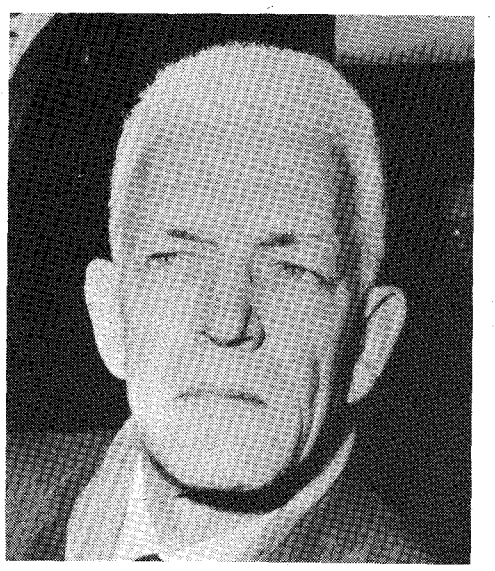
One of the best informed and strongest supporters of the United States and later the OAS policies in the Dominican Republic is the leader of 29 million unionized workers belonging to affiliates throughout the Western Hemisphere. He is Arturo Jauregui, secretary general of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

It was he who revealed to this reporter the list of statements by one of Prof. Bosch's closest collaborators and partners in politics. The latter is Angel Miolan, who, as general secretary, ran Juan Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party. It is Miolan who recently told Jauregui that Bosch had "played" with the Communists and that Bosch had told him to work with them.

Miolan himself has a long and frank record of pro-Communist activity. In addition to Miolan there is a reported mystery man who advised Bosch on creating a merged revolutionary labor movement in which the Communist-controlled federation, called La Union, would play a strong part. This mystery man now is in New York.

There can be no doubt that partisans of Moscow, Havana and Peking are still active in what is euphemistically called the rebel zone.

Just a few days ago each group ran a *pleno* (plenum). The evidence, and in detailed form, is here and in the hands of the indefatigable Andy McLellan, in Washington where he heads the AFL-CIO Inter-American Department and is special aide to George Meany on Latin affairs.



Former Dominican Republic President Juan Bosch broke his pledge to the United States.

During the *plenos*, the Communist blocs dropped their innocent front names. The Dominican Popular Socialist Party changed its name to the Communist Party of the Dominican Republic. This outfit is pro-Mao-ist.

At about the same time the Dominican Popular Movement, which bows towards Moscow, renamed itself the Party of Marx and Lenin.

Juan Bosch, who has flooded Latin America with skin-searing attacks on the United States, has not denounced these Communist machines which run the anti-American demonstrations in the rebel territory.

The supporters of Prof. Bosch say that he never had intended to permit the Communists to operate. But this is negated by what transpired during two confrontations with George Meany, the AFL-CIO president in Washington during January, 1963.

Bosch then was Dominican president-elect. He had come to the United States seeking support. In Mr. Meany's office he thanked the American labor chief for the support given him through the years.

Meany then said bluntly that this support would continue only as long as Bosch kept the Dominican labor movement free of any control by any force—be it government or party. Bosch gave his word that Dominican labor always would be free. Then after his inauguration, he permitted his two top advisers, Miolan and the mystery man, to pressure the anti-Communist unions into merging with the Communists.

It's time for another confrontation between Bosch and the anti-Communist labor leaders. Out of this would come the reasons for the swift U. S. moves in Santo Domingo.

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Civil Disobedience Propaganda--Free Speech or Sedition?

By ALICE WIDENER

On Saturday afternoon, August 14, friends invited me to the movies as a diversion from worry about my daughter and son-in-law living in Los Angeles. They had telephoned to reassure me, the night before, but my son-in-law is assistant administrator in the news department of a major TV broadcasting company and had to be on dangerous duty, all weekend, covering the riots.

My friends took me to see Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton in *The Sandpiper* at Radio City Music Hall. We arrived after the picture had started and missed seeing the screen play credits. During the film, I was profoundly shocked by some of the dialogue bringing up the question of the citizen's moral obligation to obey laws; and appearing to sanction the citizen's right to decide individually which laws are just or unjust, which should be obeyed or defied.

I was particularly struck by the dialogue in this film because my son-in-law, who had spent much time with Los Angeles Police Chief Parker during the first day of the riots, had quoted him as saying, "Ten years of civil disobedience propaganda have created the climate out of which these riots grew."

Troubled by what I believed to be harmful propaganda in *The Sandpiper*, I inquired about who wrote the screen play and learned the authors were Dalton Trumbo and Michael Wilson.

Dalton Trumbo was one of the "Hollywood Ten" who in 1947 went to jail rather than answer questions by the House Committee on Un-American Activities about alleged affiliation with the Communist party. Ten witnesses before HCUA had identified Mr. Trumbo as a Communist party member. He did not reply to the question about whether his party name or alias was "Hal Conger" and whether he held Communist party card No. 36802.

On July 29, 1955, Michael Wilson was identified by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a co-author of the film *Salt of the Earth* for the Communist-dominated Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, which had been expelled by AFL-CIO.

Parts of the dialogue in *The Sandpiper* appear to be slanted toward making a virtue out of civil disobedience. I have heard the same kind of propaganda over TV from the lips of Jesse Gray in New York City and also from those of James Farmer.

In the New York *Times* of August 15, Jesse Gray, who had led a march on a Harlem police station the day before, is quoted as saying that the Los Angeles rioters were "freedom fighters," and also as declaring, "If King wants to come to Harlem, let him come on, but don't let him bring his non-violence." The *Times* reported that Jesse Gray "criticized Dick Gregory, the Negro comedian, for trying to pacify the rioters. He [Gray] also assailed the non-violent approach of Dr. Martin Luther King, the civil rights leader."

Meantime, there is serious question in many Americans' minds about the legality of Dr. King's attempted interference in our nation's foreign affairs by seeking to go over the heads of our government to communicate with Ho Chi Minh and other chiefs of state, friendly and unfriendly.

The sober New Bedford (Mass.) *Standard-Times* stated editorially that such an appeal "may come under the Logan Act" which prohibits private citizens from attempting negotiations with foreign governments except by White House permission.

At the same time the state of New Jersey is wracked with a political dispute over the question of whether there should be dismissal of a taxpayer-supported teacher at Rutgers University, who says he is a Marxist and wants our enemies, the Viet Cong, to win in Viet Nam.

It certainly would seem that Los Angeles Police Chief William Henry Parker 3rd has got the correct score on our national plight at this time of revolution.

There can be no such thing as peaceful civil disobedience. It leads to violence, and violence leads to the worst injustices of all, as could be seen by the corpses of two innocent Negro children struck down by Negro sniper fire in the Watts area of Los Angeles. Their pathetic little bodies are silent testimony to the fact that civil disobedience propaganda is sedition and must be treated as a criminal offense—in the press, the movies, on TV, or anywhere else.

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M. Stanton Evans is the author of The Liberal Establishment.

'The Liberal Establishment'

From the New York *Daily News*

What makes U.S. "liberals" tick, anyway? That question is of the greatest importance to the continued welfare of the American people, and quite possibly to the continued existence of the nation as a Republic.

A new book, which we highly recommend, comes up with detailed answers.

The volume is *The Liberal Establishment: Who Runs America, and How,* by M. Stanton Evans; Devin-Adair Co., New York; 351 pages, $5.95.

Mr. Evans is the brilliant young editor of the Indianapolis *News* and author of *Revolt on the Campus.*

As described on page 16 of last week's issue, The Liberal Establishment **by M. Stanton Evans is available directly from** Human Events, **410 First St., S.E., Washington 3, D. C., at $5.95 a copy. All orders are filled the same day they are received.**

His new book names names, calls spades what they are, and pulls no punches insofar as we can detect. "Liberal Establishment" is the author's name for the big group of serious thinkers around the country that wants all power concentrated in Washington and believes the common people don't know what's good for them and should have all their thinking and planning done by the Great Brain in the nation's capital.

A couple of quotations:

"In the name of 'civil liberties,' the Establishment seeks to strike down all legislation inhibiting domestic Communist activity, refuses to take action against the pro-Communist Fair Play for Cuba Committee, fights against security regulations which would prevent the free movement in and out of the country by such as [President Kennedy's murderer Lee Harvey] Oswald . . . opens the floodgates to tax-subsidized delivery of Communist propaganda, dismantles necessary precautions against security risks in the American government, crusades against anti-Communist investigating committees and the FBI. . . .

"[Sen. Joseph S.] Clark [a top-flight liberal] and member of ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] says: 'They plan well in Russia. There someone decides where little Ivan is going to work. If, at the age of 11, he seems unresponsive, he goes back to the collective farm. If he shows promise, his education is continued at state expense through technical school and the university. . . .'

"Why can't we do the same thing here, Clark asks, using 'persuasion' instead of compulsion?. . . .

"In short, the American people don't know what they want. Therefore, the all-seeing Joseph Clark and his ADA brethren would be glad to take care of that item for them—if only our obsolete Constitution didn't stand in the way!"

Better read this book, friends. It tells you what kind of people these liberals really are, and how alarmingly far they already have got with their plans to destroy American freedom and initiative. With such knowledge we should all be equipped if we want to save our freedom.

□ □ □

Muggeridge Calls Liberalism 'The Great Destructive Force'

In the September *Esquire* magazine, British critic Malcolm Muggeridge reviews M. Stanton Evans' new book, *The Liberal Establishment.* What makes his review noteworthy is the fact that, although *Esquire* is a liberal magazine and although Muggeridge, by his own admission, is a member of the liberal fraternity, almost the entire article is devoted to a biting attack on liberalism. He agrees that "in the arts and in letters, in the church and the civil service, in politics and up to a point even in the armed forces, liberalism has prevailed. . .," and he is not altogether happy with this situation.

Muggeridge writes that what "is quite clear is that our Western societies, as they have developed in recent decades, have a strong liberal bias which has sometimes served, whether innocently or deliberately, to promote disreputable individuals and advance illiberal causes."

"Who, for instance, could have been less liberal than the late Stalin? Yet he enjoyed in his day the adulation, or at any rate the tolerance, of most of the liberal intelligentsia of the West, from Andre Gide to Bernard Shaw. . . ."

"It is certainly the case," Muggeridge observes, "that the representatives of our much lauded 'free' press find excuses without any difficulty for potential Marxist dictators, and that when it is a question of protecting Western-orientated ones all the liberal trumpets have a tendency to blow lustily on the other side. . . ."

Muggeridge attributes this to a built-in bias. "We liberals," he says, "are so made that anyone who wants to murder us is a hero and anyone foolish enough to be on our side is a villain. We despise a Tshombe who, by and large, would seem to be well disposed toward us, and venerate a Nkrumah who hates our guts and never hesitates to say so. . . ."

But why do liberals have this bias? Muggeridge blames it on a "death wish." "Liberalism," he concludes, "will be seen historically as *the* great destructive force of our time; much more so than communism, fascism, nazism, or any of the other lunatic creeds which make such immediate havoc.

"Compared with the long-term consequences of a Gilbert Murray, a Bertrand Russell, a Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Hitler was an ineffectual dreamer, Stalin a Father Christmas and Mussolini an Arcadian shepherd. It is liberalism which makes the Gadarene swine so frisky; as mankind goes to its last incinerated extinction the voice of the liberal will be heard proclaiming the realization at last of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Perhaps Mr. Evans will want to include these observations in the next edition of his very fine book. They certainly strengthen his case.

RUSK ON RED CHINA—In 1950, while assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern Affairs, Dean Rusk made a startling speech. This was one year after all China had fallen to the Reds and after the "agrarian reformers" had disclosed themselves as full-fledged Communists. Rusk told his audience that the "revolution in China" was comparable to the "American revolt against the British in 1776." He compared Mao Tse-tung with George Washington and Patrick Henry. The Chinese "revolt," he said, "does not aim at dictatorship." Two weeks after this speech, the United States was fighting the North Korean Communists. Five months later, Red China was fighting the United States in Korea.—From the Chicago *Tribune*

'Research' Eats Up Foreign Aid

From the Allen-Scott Report

More than $25 million in foreign aid funds has been spent for scores of so-called research and analysis projects ranging from "Diffusion of Innovations in Rural Societies" to "The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility."

Cost of these studies runs from $5,405 to Haverford College, Pa., for "Effect of Foreign Aid on U. S. Balance of Payment," to $2,463,275 to the University of Wisconsin for "Research and Training in Land Tenure and Reform in Latin America."

Most of these foreign aid-financed research dispensations went to U. S. universities with a few to private institutions and business concerns.

These are the latest disclosures by Rep. Vernon Thomson (R.-Wis.), member of the Foreign Affairs Committee who has determinedly crusaded against waste, extravagance, bungling, mismanagement and other costly failings in the administration of the multi-billion-dollar foreign aid program.

He is baffled why large sums of money voted by Congress for foreign aid should be spent for probing the "Impact of Electric Power on Rural Development," "Development Planning and Planning Assistance Criteria" and numerous other subjects with no apparent relation to foreign aid.

"We have spent hundreds of millions of dollars in the past 30 years on rural electrification," points out Thomson, "so I would think we know a great deal about that. I can't understand why foreign aid funds should be spent for research in this field. Yet the records show three contracts totaling $560,000 were granted for such studies."

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Double Income Tax Is Unfair

From the San Diego *Union*

The next time the Administration primes the pump for new money it might take a look at double taxation on dividends.

Ever since the 1930s, the burden of this double taxation has been compounded by high tax rates on corporations and individuals.

Corporations pay 22 per cent on earnings up to $25,000, and 48 per cent on earnings above that level. Individuals pay rates ranging from 14 per cent to 70 per cent, less a $100 exclusion approved in 1964.

A company declaring a dividend pays tax on that dividend, and then the stockholder receiving the dividend check is taxed on the same money.

Easing this burden either at the corporation or individual level would be the only fair situation, which drains money out of the job-producing economy.

□ □ □

TOO BAD—Senate conferees lost out on their attempt to get a two-year authorization bill for foreign aid. Too bad. Assured of a two-year stretch for the program, some of our foreign friends like Nasser would have more time to improve the literary quality of their insults.—By Bernie Yudain in *Roll Call*

Freud on Uncle Sam and Big Brother

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I have never lain on the psychoanalyst's couch to let him explore—at the going rate of $50 an hour—the inner recesses of my warped mind. One of the perquisites of my racket is that the followers of Freud analyze me for free. Well, almost free. Occasionally I have to pay a nickel for postage due.

These mail-order headshrinkers are so gifted that they do not need to probe me in person. Almost every column is revealing enough for their purposes, and their findings sometimes make me wish Sigmund had never opened his big mouth.

Here's an excerpt from one anent a recent column:

"You are an open book—a dirty one—to every student of psychology. Your yearning for the 'good old days' reveals your desire to return to the safety of the womb. . . . You obviously had a sheltered childhood, in which Mom protected you from the rough-and-tumble of the boys on the block, and you still cling to her apron as a shield against the realities of life. . . .

"Nowhere is this clearer than when you mourn the passing of Uncle Sam and bewail the coming of what you call Big Brother. Your Uncle Sam may represent the father image to you: but in fact he was a chauvinistic isolationist, a bully who intimidated small nations by the threat of his Marines.

"The 'Great Society,' on the other hand, calls on you to be your brother's keeper and to give up some of your toys to your fellow man both here and abroad. But you remain a selfish brat. When will you grow up?"

Well, I hate to argue with a student of psychology, but that ain't the way I heard it. I played with the boys on the block, the typically polygenous crew of any lower middle-class area of New York in those days. Indeed, on Saturday mornings—right after my Hebrew lesson—I used to pitch for their ball team.

And I fought with them, too, but Mom was far too busy to interfere, even if she'd wanted to. Often in jest we hurled derogatory epithets at each other—words like "sheeny," "mick," "wop" and "dutch"—and took it good-naturedly. But when tempers got hot, the same words led to fisticuffs. Like SOB: if you smiled when you said it, it was okay. Otherwise, look out.

Not that we made any real class distinction: the guys we were sorry for were the one or two poor fellows who hadn't been born here because they had no chance to be President. But we were all, whatever our stock or how many years we landed after the Pilgrims, simon-pure Yanks. This was our land, and Bunker Hill was in our blood; we had fought at Lexington and Concord, sailed with John Paul Jones and followed Teddy Roosevelt up San Juan Hill. And we knew that one American could lick 20 luckless inhabitants of any other country.

And whenever we saw a poster of Uncle Sam, our young hearts glowed in a combination of religion and patriotism. The mind of a small boy is a curious thing and hard for sophisticates—and even computers—to fathom. We made no definite line of demarcation between the Bible and American history: and if you had asked us—Protestant, Catholic or Jew—how we thought God looked, we undoubtedly would have said, "Like Uncle Sam."

For to us this was God's country, and it was only natural that the Lord should be tall and bearded like Lincoln, whom we reverenced; and that He should be dressed in the picturesque attire that the cartoonists had made a symbol of His native land.

If He was stern, we saw in Him not the bully that your myopic eyes see, but the just figure that demanded that you do your duty by Him and His country. And we knew of His compassion perhaps a little better than most: He had seen Washington through the bitter winter of Valley Forge and Lincoln through the terrible years of the Civil War; and besides, He had welcomed our parents from places where men were not free and could never hope that their grandson might be President.

It was naive, but remember we were kids. Yet, as the years pass—and I near my second childhood—I would probably still say, if you asked me to picture the Lord in anthropomorphic form, "Like Uncle Sam."

So analyze me to your heart's content, but let my religion alone. Keep your profane fingers off the sacred image of Uncle Sam.

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DEMO BOONDOGGLE — The House has rejected, along party lines, an amendment offered by Rep. Glen Andrews (R.-Ala.) to prohibit money earmarked for the anti-poverty program from being used for political purposes. Andrews said that defeat of his amendment means that the "War on Poverty" is merely a scheme to further the Democratic party.

□ □ □

REP. GLEN LIPSCOMB (R.-Calif.) notes that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara has published a booklet detailing progress made in the Pentagon's "war on waste." Lipscomb then suggests that McNamara, if he is serious about economy in government, should "next year refrain from indulging in the printing of an expensive booklet proclaiming his efforts." The California congressman says that McNamara had printed 40,000 copies of the latest booklet at a cost to the taxpayers of $50,000.

□ □ □

FEWER JUNKETS FOR HHH—Members of his own party have criticized Hubert Humphrey's political junkets throughout the country. In a closed-door Democratic caucus, Senate Democrats agreed that Humphrey should spend more time presiding over the Senate, "even though he has to neglect some of his other duties."

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REP. JOHN SAYLOR (R.-Pa.) last year won congressional approval of an amendment providing that all materials used in the mass transit program be produced in the United States. While preaching "Buy American," the Administration now seeks to strike from the mass transit bill the Saylor provision.

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SPOTLIGHT on CONGRESS

"Let's fashion a [farm] program of minimum costs and maximum effectiveness. And let's cut down on the size of the Department of Agriculture. After all, any bureaucrats released by the Department of Agriculture now have a place to go. They can all get jobs with the Department of Urban Affairs."—Rep. Chester Mize (R.-Kan.)

Purchasing Power

By REP. LESLIE ARENDS (R.-Ill.)

Are we not being fooled, or perhaps fooling ourselves, that we are actually enjoying real prosperity? Are not the increases in wages we receive actually no increases at all in terms of purchasing power? The increase in living costs this year has been four times the increase during the same period in 1964. The disheartening and disturbing inflationary trend that is engulfing us offsets the billions expended for the highly-publicized "War on Poverty."

Aid to Indonesia

By REP. WILLIAM BROOMFIELD (R.-Mich.)

At a time when Indonesia is doing its utmost to overthrow the government of its peaceful and much smaller neighbor Malaysia, it is impossible to comprehend the State Department's position favoring the proposed sale of a military communications system to Sukarno's troops. Indonesian army units have been dropping paratroops and threatening invasion. Yet our government is contemplating the sale of this military system to Indonesia. It is no wonder that Sukarno considers the only way to get along with Americans is to insult them, attack their allies and stage anti-American riots. Whenever he does, the State Department goes to him hat-in-hand begging him to take more of our money or arms.

Poverty Program

By SEN. JOHN G. TOWER (R.-Tex.)

The present poverty program does not take effective steps to end existing poverty. The present program has flaws so serious that if they are not corrected now, there will be even less assistance to the poor next year. Nowhere in the federal government today—for that matter, in the past—have we seen, nor do we see, more evidence of bureaucratic clumsiness and bungling than in the poverty program. It has a part-time director and a tremendous number of highly salaried executive bureaucrats. It has a serious shortage of trained, qualified field personnel.

While we have yet to see any evidence that economic opportunities are being provided the poor by the Office of Economic Opportunity, it is not difficult to conclude that bureaucratic positions entailing pay from $19,000 to $25,000 are creating a great deal of economic opportunity for big bureaucrats. OEO personnel also are getting rich from salaries paid to them as local directors.

The most glaring shortcoming of the poverty program is its complete lack and its complete failure to coordinate local state and private programs to assist the poor with this limited federal program.

Viet Nam Expenses

By REP. JOHN WYDLER (R.-N.Y.)

The presidential insistence that the "war" in Viet Nam will not interfere with "business as usual" at home is either blind optimism or pure political pap. Even if we could fight a war without a single, solitary sacrifice at home, I ask, could we as decent human beings be in any position to order our fellow countrymen to lay down their lives for us?

Poor Mayors

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

According to the Washington *Daily News* the Office of Economic Opportunity, the operator of the so-called poverty program, has made a grant of $86,541 to the Association, whatever it is called, of Mayors of the United States. It seems that the mayors of the United States in June of this year charged the OEO poverty officials with fostering class struggle and creating tensions among the urban poor. What in the world is the OEO doing dishing out $86,541 for a conference of the mayors of the United States? Are the cities of the United States so bankrupt they cannot finance a conference to discuss the subject of poverty? What is this—an attempt on the part of the OEO to use poverty funds to buy off the criticism of the mayors of the United States?

How's Business?

By REP. RALPH HARVEY (R.-Ind.)

Despite statements heard that "business couldn't be better," there are reports regarding business in general that should be food for thought. Dun and Bradstreet says that from 350,000 to 400,000 businesses failed last year. It is said that in those businesses where creditors took heavy losses (13,501), 5 per cent of them had existed only five years. Of those businesses 10 years or more in existence, nearly 30 per cent failed in 1964. This is a big increase from the 9 per cent in the same category in 1947. One of the principal reasons for these failures is increased competition between private enterprise and government fickleness. Often the government can help or hinder certain businesses in placing federal contracts, and it is not beneath the Administration to award contracts on bases other than competition. It often leads to chaos in established businesses which are trying to compete with relatively new businesses set up by Administration cronies to bid on lucrative contracts. The record of business failures, increasing alarmingly each year, gives credence to the warning by William McChesney Martin Jr.

Liberal Strategy to Unseat Mississippi Delegation Is Outlined

From the Allen-Scott Report

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's bitter-end fight to unseat the state's five congressmen is costing the government more than $60,000 for printing 80 copies of a four-volume report.

That's the undisclosed bill for publishing a huge mass of material submitted by MFDP to prove its contention that the five congressmen (four Democrats, one Republican) are holding office illegally because Mississippi Negroes in 1964 were generally denied the right to vote.

Three of the volumes are 1,000 pages, one 30 pages. The large volumes consist of hundreds of affidavits, depositions, statements, etc., collected by a large staff of MFDP lawyers.

Of the 80 copies, 60 are for the House Elections subcommittee considering this controversy; two for each of the challenged congressmen and MFDP contestants.

Neither House Clerk Ralph Roberts, who finally ordered the printing after months of deliberation, nor subcommittee authorities would divulge the cost. All refused to discuss this exceptional expenditure of public funds.

But from other official sources it was ascertained that publishing such congressional reports costs taxpayers $19.92 a page. Thus the 80 sets cost $60,357.60.

All officials involved were equally unresponsive to requests to examine the costly report. This was denied on the ground that the subcommittee's consideration of the MFDP challenge had not yet been formally "opened."

No date has been set for that. Several of the five committeemen did indicate it would not be before the end of this month. Determination of that is entirely up to the subcommittee. Chairman is Robert Ashmore (D.-S.C.), who is vigorously against the MFDP's ouster demand. So are the other four members.

If and when the subcommittee does finally act, it is virtually certain to vote unanimously against unseating the five Mississippians.

Aware their chances are becoming dimmer by the day with adjournment nearing, Freedom Democratic Party leaders are launching what is privately described as a "massive all-out pressure drive."

Its immediate purpose is to go over the heads of the subcommittee and bring the unseating issue direct to the floor of the House.

This would be done by a petition to discharge the subcommittee from further consideration of the matter. This exceptional parliamentary procedure requires 218 signatures—a majority of the full House. MFDP strategists think they have fair hopes of doing this on the basis that their unseating motion at the start of the session in January got 149 votes.

Their plan of operations is spelled out in a private memorandum by Lawrence Guyot, chairman of the MFDP executive committee. It details the following:

- Personal talks with subcommitteemen by other House members to urge prompt action. Chairman Ashmore already has met with one group—Representatives Don Edwards (D.-Calif.), John Conyers Jr. (D.-Mich.) and William Ryan (D.-N.Y.). They were given a courteous hearing, but no encouragement.

- A "lawyers' lobby" to appeal to subcommitteemen, and House leaders and members generally to put pressure on the former to act. This lobby will largely be made up of attorneys who collected the material published in the expensive four-volume report that is still under lock and key. The lobby is being organized by Arthur Kinoy, Rutgers University law professor, and John de J. Pemberton Jr., executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Reportedly 40 lawyers have volunteered for this pressure operation.

- A "clergymen's lobby" to follow the attorneys. Every faith is to be represented. Other details are still incomplete.

- A delegation of nationally prominent figures to seek meetings with House leaders—Speaker John McCormack (D.-Mass.) and Rep. Gerald Ford (R.-Mich.)—and to urge they exert their influence on the subcommittee.

- A "vigil by 1,000 Mississippians at the Capitol" supported by a flood of messages from all over the country to individual congressmen.

"They will be there to petition the Congress to take up the challenge," Guyot says in his memorandum. "Their presence will be a great incentive to the Congress to deal with the challenge to unseat these illegal Mississippi congressmen."

Actively participating in planning and organizing this "massive pressure drive" are a number of civil rights and other groups.

They include the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), Students for a Democratic Society, American Civil Liberties Union, National Council of Churches' Commission on Religion and Race, and Americans for Democratic Action.

In Guyot's backstage memorandum to these organizations and others he stresses that only "public pressure" can bring about a House vote on the unseating issue.

"It is our task to see that public pressure is maintained on every congressman and on the Congress as a whole to see that the challenge is brought to a vote this session," Guyot declares. "It is possible to bring about a vote on the continued seating of the five Mississippians if enough public pressure and concern can be generated.

"Our job is to launch a nationwide program of letters, wires, phone calls, public demonstrations, delegations, press stories, radio and TV broadcasts, and every other possible means to bring the challenge to public attention. It's now or never, and no effort must be spared to force our challenge to a showdown."

Of the 149 congressmen who voted against the five Mississippians in January, 24 were Republicans. They consisted largely of Rep. John Lindsay, of New York, candidate for mayor, and other members of the so-called "Wednesday Club"—GOP liberals of which he is the mainspring.

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The Inside Story of the 1964 Republican Campaign

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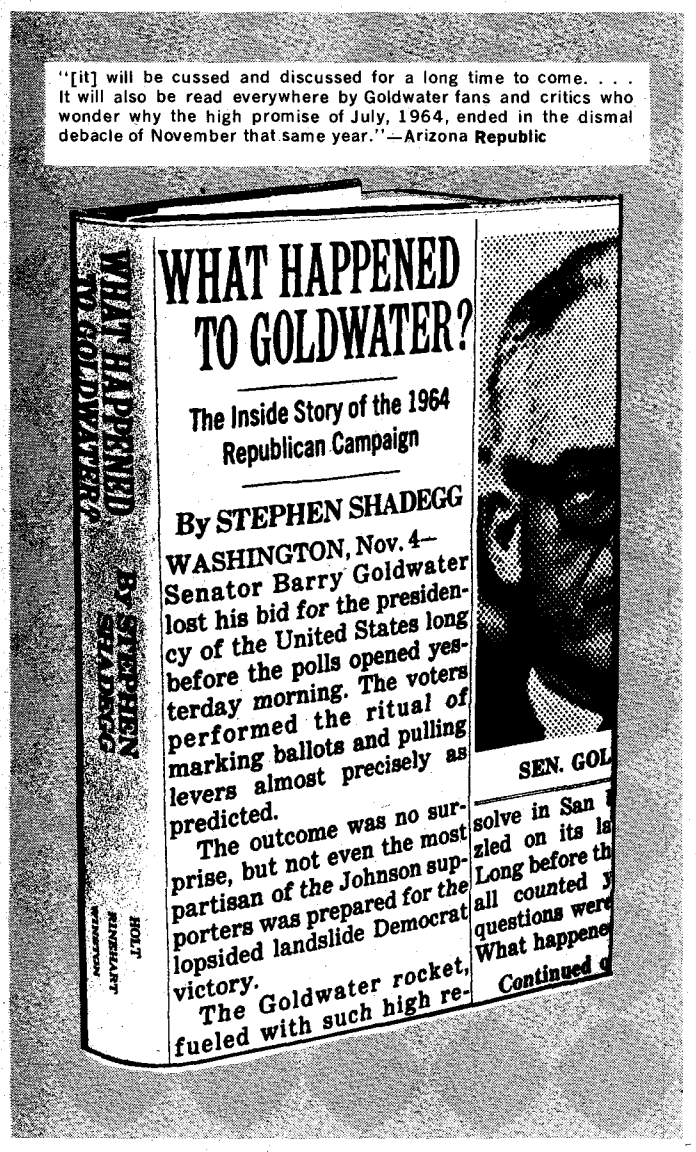

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